

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

NOTE

SUBJECT

Soviet reaction toward Turkish **declaration** of war;
reports that group of 65 individuals headed by
Souad Dervish, writer, being tried for Communism
in Ankara.

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel# 558
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated Feb 27, 1945 From Moscow
~~xxx~~

File No. 740.0011 EW/2-2745

Confidential File

867.00B/2-2745

FIS

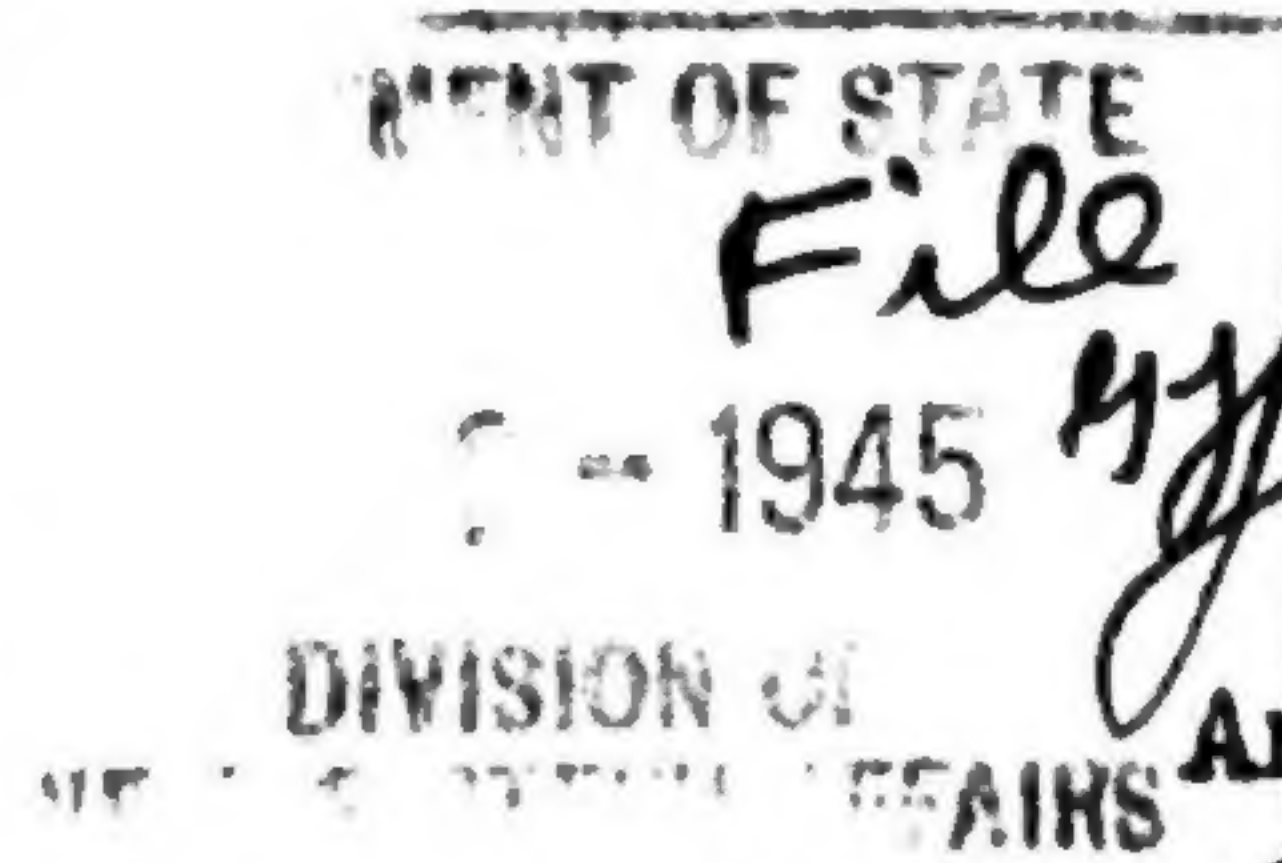


THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



AMERICAN EMBASSY

Confidential



Ankara, November 17, 1945

Dear Loy:

I am enclosing herewith a memorandum prepared by an officer of the Turkish secret police regarding communism in Turkey and activities of communist agents here. I think you will find this interesting. It seems remarkably objective and dispassionate. It was prepared by the Turkish secret police for Turner Smith, of OSS, and a copy was given to Dick Gnade by the representative of the secret police who accompanied Smith and Gnade on their recent trip to the eastern provinces.

It may be that you have already received a copy but I thought I would make sure that you have one.

Yours, as ever,

Frank B. Wilson

Enclosure:

- 1/ Memorandum re communist activities in Turkey.

The Honorable Loy W. Henderson,
Director of Office of Near Eastern and
African Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D. C.

DCR NE Unit

Re:

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INTRODUCTION

It should be obvious that from the very beginning Soviet Russia has coupled her destiny with the spreading of Communism throughout the world. However, for twenty-seven years this connection between Soviet Russia and Communist activities has not always been clearly comprehended nor clearly presented. This is only natural, because in promoting Communism many organizational phases were necessary and many secret measures were taken to ensure its adoption.

In order to grasp the information that follows one should read the following books thoroughly:

- (1) SOCIALISM AND GENERAL HISTORY OF SOCIALIST CAMPAIGNS,
by Max Beer. (Found in every language).
- (2) I WAS STALIN'S AGENT,
by General Kirviski. (Published in the United States).
- (3) THE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.S.R.,
(Published in Moscow).

Although the work of Kirviski is primarily a book of memoirs, incidentally disclosing a few hitherto-unknown secrets, it is also a book which presents the basis from which the history of the Communist Party and the history of Socialism have developed. The other two works bear out the main points indicated by Kirviski. The last book, especially, is a defense of Communism, in view of the difficulties it has had to face, and the reason for its separation from the theory of Karl Marx.

However diligently and ardently these writers may have worked to present their point of view, it may be said that they always arrive at conclusions previously taken and at results previously obtained. This point, characteristic of an intelligent man with a unilateral idea, can be found in every Communist, and is a menace as well as a talent.

Soviet activity in the Near East presents a special problem because these nations are Moslem, and the Moslem religion is like that of the Jews in that it has somewhat of a socialist basis. Until recently there have not been many people who have had an understanding of Mohammedanism and Communism at the same time. In the Arabic countries with their low standard of culture and in countries with a Persian tongue Soviet Russia has always been regarded as a European nation. In view of the strong feeling of the spiritual equality of mankind under the Moslem religion there is hardly ever a revolt in spite of what inequality may exist in the matter of wealth.

A booklet containing the speeches of Halit Bektaş, leader of the Syrian Communist Party, takes as a model the political life of Turkey in the past twenty years. The writer emphasizes the fact that political actions come before social actions, indicating the dependence of the Communists on Moscow.

FOREWORD TO THE PART CONCERNING TURKEY

Communist activity began in Turkey in the years 1908 and 1909. Those professors, doctors, and others who were educated throughout Europe and who interested themselves in Communist ideas at that time, may be considered as being the oldest Communists in Turkey.

After the First World War a systematic Communist activity began in Turkey, as in every part of the world. This activity stemmed from the following:

- (1) Prisoners of war in Russia, and Turks who have lived in Russia.
- (2) Inclination of Socialists in Turkey toward Communist ideas.
- (3) Secret activity among the people near the Russian border.
- (4) Young men who have been in Germany.
- (5) Young men who have been attracted to Russia where they were schooled in Communist ideas.
- (6) Growth of Communist ideas from the above influence.

I. PRISONERS OF WAR IN RUSSIA AND TURKS IN RUSSIA:

The first action by Soviets in regard to soldiers who were taken prisoner was to open the gates of the camps and to tell them that they were free, and that those who would work would be given something to eat. At the same time priests visited the camp and circulated among the prisoners. They concerned themselves solely with privates, not with officers or educated men. The prisoners did not fully understand what Communism meant, and they came away with a very vague political idea. Certain of the common people fell into the category of being weak Communist agents, but, being very easily controlled by the police, were unable to accomplish anything positive.

Many people of the Black Sea vilayets used to work in Soviet Russia and in Poland, as bakers. Some of them became interested in Communist activity, and from 1918 to 1921 a nucleus for a Communist party in Turkey was formed in Soviet Russia from these people. Thus, Soviet Russia helped Turkey in its establishment of independence, and at the same time attempted to introduce Communist ideas.

II. INCLINATION OF SOCIALISTS IN TURKEY TOWARD COMMUNIST IDEAS:

The Workers and Farmers Socialist Party (ISÇİ VE ÇİFÇİ SOSYALIST PARTİSİ) was founded in Istanbul in 1911 by Dr. Sefik Husnu. By 1919 the feeling already existing against foreign influence was deepened by foreign occupation, and, under the guidance of conspirators from Moscow, Socialism inclined rapidly and consciously towards Communism. However, there were very few industrial workers to be organized, and members were recruited primarily from the tram and tunnel companies.

The Communists had more success among the members of the press and among students at the university. In the years that followed, these new ideas were accordingly spread throughout Turkey, and new Communist members who were sent by local leaders to the Eastern borders were in active communication with the Russians. The Soviet Embassy in Ankara encouraged this activity, and although the local members were few in number the possibility of infection remained.

The new Turkish Republic faced a crisis in internal politics in 1925, and a special law (Tahriri Sukun Kanunu) was passed which outlawed all other political activity. The application of this law disclosed these Communist activities and especially their secret manner of working.

For example, the investigations showed that a few companies operating in Turkey and a few employees working in the Soviet consulate had organized, with the benefit of pecuniary aid, an organization for directing their program. There was a secretary-general, but no president. This may have been a matter of principle, or a matter of jealousy, or even timidity. The city was divided into districts, and a central lodge with four or five men was organized in each district. These central lodges in turn became the founders of other new lodges. The new lodge would be made up of a member from the central committee, one chief from the particular district and one other member chosen from that district, together with one chief and one other member from each small lodge in the district. In this way a chain was organized.

II The members of the central committee were anxious to establish relations with the Soviets. However, the connections with the Communist party in Moscow were sometimes stronger on the part of lesser-known members of the committee than the chiefs themselves. In each administrative division would be found a teacher, preferably chosen from among people brought up in Soviet Russia. These teachers were given the task of instructing people, and it was easy for the police to find them. Another point which attracted attention was friendship between highly-educated people and illiterates of the lower-class. The only reason that would bring them together could be nothing but politics.

It was proved at that time that the ARKOS Publication Society, the export department of Soviet Russia, and the NEFT syndicate were centers which aided in arranging the meetings of these pioneer Communists.

The principal orders that came to these lodges, in addition to the known Marxist doctrines, were the following: Workmen must familiarize themselves with strikes; strikes are a preparation and a training for war; when the villagers and workmen take an active part the saving of the proletariat becomes a reality.

III. SECRET ACTIVITY AMONG THE PEOPLE NEAR THE RUSSIAN BORDER:

The people on the Eastern borders of Turkey and along the shores of the Black Sea have long been in contact with Russia, economically and culturally. Much of the region was under Russian occupation during the First World War. Some of the people along the seashore whose culture is Moslem and whose nationality is Turkish speak Georgian. Others speak a language known as

Eziza. The people along the entire Russian border speak only Turkish, and the people of Kars and Ardahan speak the dialect of the Anatolian Turks. It is necessary to note that those who speak the dialects of Azerbaijan, Uzbek, and Turkestan understand each other completely. All Soviet efforts with relation to these people who live on the Russian side of the frontier have been in vain. Those who live under the Kolhoz system of collective farming, with few exceptions, hope to be rid of it sooner or later.

The Soviets have attempted to capitalize on the economic living conditions of the people living on the Turkish side of the border in several ways. They have encouraged immigration, for example. During the period of Soviet land reforms gardens were taken away from the Moslem people of Batum who opposed Communism and given to immigrants from the Turkish side of the border. This threat was held over the head of many people within Russia who opposed Communism. However, the people under the Turkish government, with few exceptions, have remained steadfast in the face of economic promises of the Soviet system.

Another idea was to make part of the shoreline independent from Turkey and bring it under Soviet control. Accordingly, young men are encouraged to adopt Communism and those that the Soviets consider thrust-worthy are used in fifth-column activities.

This systematic activity for urging people to become Communists may be illustrated by the following two examples:

1. An intelligent young Turk makes the acquaintance of another young Turk who works in a baker's shop. He learns eventually that his new friend is concerned with a secret organization and when he shows interest he is presented to someone in a higher position in the organization who encourages him to join them. After a period of trial in which his capabilities are weighed he is registered in the Eastern University (the Oriental University in Moscow), a Communist school. The young man finds that the university is divided into three major branches, as follows: The Oriental (Eastern), the Central European, and the Anglo-Saxon. These are in turn subdivided. Native Russians are not admitted to this school, but are instructed elsewhere. The students in the Oriental Department were of the following nationalities: Chinese, Japanese, Turk, Persian, Afghan, Irakian, and Syrian. About ten young Turks who were studying at the time were instructed to use pseudonyms, and not to reveal their own names.

The courses are as follows: Marxism and Leninism, Geography, Economics, Literature, Foreign Relations, Sociology, Russian Language. The courses, as a rule, are rather general, excepting that Economics and Foreign Relations concern Turkey more than other countries. The special point to be mentioned is that in these courses the weaknesses of Turkey are taught, not as a lesson, but rather as a propaganda for the Turks.

The young man was eventually sent back home with a certain amount of money, and essentially with the self-denial of a monk. This young man, brought up as an enemy to his own country, would consider espionage a duty as much as the obligation to preach Communism.

This concept of espionage varies as to circumstances. Sometimes certain persons are not instructed in such mean things as espionage if it is thought that it will prejudice their enthusiasm for Communism. Accordingly, different approaches are used.

2. The second example is that of a young man who is a teacher in a certain village. Although he has not had a thorough education he has learned something about Russia and Communism from what he has read and observed. Finally, he is attracted by one of his friends to learn more. Upon recommendation he is chosen for the secondary school for Communism at the Oriental University in Moscow and is able to get to Russia secretly. The young man proves his ability there and also studies at the Lenin Institute, returning to Turkey with a master's degree in Engineering.

The life of this young man during the next ten years in Turkey is complicated by the fact that he can get no important position, since no one will trust him. However, he does not starve as he obtains a humble job as an employee. This position gives him an opportunity to follow economic affairs, and he reads incessantly. Every day he talks with economists in cafes, casinos, and keeps in contact with men of literature. His salary is very small, but once in a while he is able to have articles on literature and economics published. Although these articles on literature and economics are published in non-Communist papers, they are often accepted by magazines whose leftist ideas are carefully camouflaged.

Other young men who have made their studies in Economics in Europe are not always able to find answers for the severe criticism offered by this young man. He has learned the weaknesses of contemporary economics so well that his opponents are immediately beaten. However, he does not disclose his ideas to everyone. The men who enjoy his confidence are either his colleagues with the same ideals, or a poor employee who has no personal ideas, but who has become a mere automaton. One day a group of revolutionists who had published a clandestine paper and who were attempting to change the government by illegal means are arrested. From the records of their studies and daily lives it is seen that the shadow of the above-mentioned young man has always been present. He tries to pretend that he only sympathizes with Marxism, and has no revolutionary tendencies. However, he does more harm than any number of young men of normal tendencies could do.

IV. YOUNG MEN WHO HAVE BEEN IN GERMANY:

During the war of 1914-18 many students were sent from Turkey to Germany. There they worked in branches of science and industry. After the defeat of Germany some of these young men were left without support. Many of them, accordingly, fell into the hands of Communist organizations in Germany, and

were sent to Russia where they became Russian agents. Prominent among them are the famous Communist woman-writer, Suat Dervish, and her husband, who as an agent of Russia is a leader of the Communist party in Turkey. The Moscow Radio protested for a long time when this woman was sentenced to prison in Turkey, as they had both been busy for years in inspiring other students in Germany. Similar work was extended to France and even to the United States.

It was detected also that Turkish students sent to the United States to study Sociology and Philosophy were returning to Turkey duped by Communism. The cause, as can be seen in Turkey, is that Russian agents in America interest themselves more actively in foreign students. The main tactic of this endeavor is to benefit from the sense of inferiority which foreign students have in a country more civilized than their own.

Soviet agents make friends of the young students from foreign countries who are short of money and who are lonely. It is easy to inspire in them a hostility for capitalism and imperialism which prepares the subject for Communism. This propaganda is similar to that used by Germany, since young students generally have a sympathy for the internal policy of their own country and are not liable to be duped from that direction.

It is noted that Afghan, Persian, and even Chinese students have been successfully impressed by this harmful activity.

Youth must be educated in terms of liberalism, but if there is a systematically-organized Communist activity in the educational institutions what is one to do? Let us return to the technical explanation once again.

V. ATTRACTION OF YOUNG PEOPLE TO RUSSIA WHERE THEY ARE BROUGHT UP WITH COMMUNIST IDEAS:

The branch of Communist activity which is concerned with the education of youth in Communist ideas is known as the Young Communist organization. This activity has been detected for nearly twenty years in every part of the country and especially in schools. As Communism is forbidden in Turkey and is hunted by the police, such activities may be found in less obvious forms, such as:

- (1) To encourage youngsters who are amateurs in Literature.
- (2) To provide for poor youngsters.
- (3) To find youngsters physically or mentally prejudiced towards present ways of life, especially among bad students.
- (4) To provide for young relatives of celebrated Communists.

Young people are always impressed by the thought of a large power or organization. They become curious to know more about it, and then are eager to write about what they have learned. They also have the desire to go to foreign countries in search of adventure or to study there. Some are inspired by the struggles which their Communist relatives have endured on behalf of Communism.

Accordingly, a great desire to go to Russia is aroused. This desire is generally reinforced by advice and inspiration, and the young enthusiast decides to pass the frontier. The Communist Party does not feel it necessary now to educate every eager youngster, because they have other means of accomplishing the same purpose. Accordingly, flights to Russia have decreased considerably.

VI. GROWTH OF COMMUNIST IDEAS FROM THE ABOVE INFLUENCES:

The following notes with reference to the above will be helpful:

- (1) Communist activity aims to bring together old and new enthusiasts to obtain the most useful results. They prefer to let it take a legitimate form within the political activity of the country concerned, which indirectly lightens the burdens of Moscow.
- (2) Moscow prefers in general to direct activities, and to take necessary measures for that purpose.
- (3) Communist activity is obliged above all to be secret, since no society in the world would accept it if it were mentioned openly.
- (4) The whole force of the Communist activity is based on propaganda and systematic control.

In that part of the book on the history of the Communist party which deals with poverty we find these words: "Those who understand Marx well are not bound to his words. Lenin is the man who understands Marx best. One must believe that everything can be settled by appealing to the doctrines of Marx".

In the same part of the book the following sentence is believed to be attributed to Engels: "Some German Communists, attached only to the words of Marx, intended to spread Communism in the United States, but they couldn't succeed with words only, because they understood neither Marx nor the United States."

In spite of the fact that Communists outside of Russia easily prove that Marx, Lenin and Stalin offer the same leadership, they would never listen to the really-educated men who speak about the internal life of Russia.

In Turkey for the past twenty-seven years the adherents of the Communist Party (members who have joined through education, curiosity, etc.) are not at all numerous. However, once having become involved in this affair very few were able to withdraw, especially those mixed in Young Communist activities. The reasons are:

- (1) Members were chosen carefully, like the monks of a Moslem monastery.
- (2) The Comintern is involved in great expense to help its members materially and spiritually.

* * * * *

PART TWO

PUBLICATION AND ITS SUPPORT.

Publications are the best medium for propaganda all over the world. The type of publication which offers the least difficulty from the legal and economic point of view is the best.

In Turkey the existence of unlawful publishing has been very limited. Only in one case was it possible to issue a secret newspaper for a comparatively long period and in this instance the copies were few and the subjects restricted. Therefore, publication in Turkey, as in the Balkans, has been confined to the issuance of small books, magazines, daily newspapers and articles written by people whose identities were kept secret. It is possible to find the main program of Communism in the books mentioned at the beginning of this report and especially in the "HISTORY OF SOCIALISM". The following are often the subjects of small works:

- (1) Economic knowledge, or works explaining economic doctrines.
- (2) Sociological subjects.
- (3) Personalities of history and their activities.
- (4) Poets with socialist inclinations, especially those who lived several hundred years ago.
- (5) Modern economics.
- (6) Modern concepts of history.
- (7) Modern poetry.
- (8) Concepts of art.
- (9) Subjects of philosophy.
- (10) Explanation of daily political events.
- (11) Novels.

The above-mentioned subjects may be published as articles in magazines or as separate pamphlets. Writers are advised, as follows:

- (1) Always speak about "people".
- (2) In order to win people to your manner of thinking you must get down to their level in order to make them understand.
- (3) Marx taught that in dialectics if a claim is refuted Communists are able to say that their claim is correct.
- (4) Analyze events in which you live from the standpoint of doctrines and principles -- always be attached to high ideals and supreme aims.

All these publications are intended for long-term use with the view of preparing the opinions of young minds through many years. In any event, fixed ideas in the form of cliches should be presented, even if they are already accepted by public opinion.

Communists do not meet any difficulty in issuing information on the above-mentioned subjects, since it is already known that they resemble the aims of Turkey and those of the People's Party -- for example, anti-fanaticism, antipathy against economic liberalism, advantages of station, etc. If the matter is examined carefully it will be seen that these conceptions and explanations are different, but, unfortunately, this difference cannot be seen immediately.

As material aid given to these publications was attracting too much attention by its liberality this system was abandoned, and the Communists have started accomplishing the same goal in a more economical way. It is done as follows:

- (1) To have young men who do not want such money write the articles.
- (2) To dictate the subject almost completely by thoroughly-educated Communists.
- (3) To encourage the writer by giving him larger subjects, prepared translations and authorizing him to adapt them.
- (4) To obtain sales facilities for these subjects.
- (5) To insert free advertisements in the newspapers of Allied and friendly countries.
- (6) To advertise the well-known writers through Moscow.

The financial part of this work is being accomplished as cleverly that it is very difficult to identify it.

The activities carried on through the medium of daily newspapers are of two kinds -- one is to establish in the office of the paper some writers whose connections are unknown, some administrative men, and even typists, and work through them. The other means is to operate the newspaper directly.

Few have been able to overcome the difficulties and expense in the founding of a newspaper. The best example is the Turkish newspaper, "TAN". It was established by a half-ignorant man, whose ambition for earning money is boundless, in partnership with Zekeriya and Sabiha Sertel (Husband and wife) who have published the paper from the date of its foundation. The policy of "TAN", especially from the point of view of external political relations, resembles that of the German propaganda system. The following will explain somewhat the professional Communist propaganda:

- (1) To cause people to fall out with their Government. The average man who reads the home news in his daily newspaper will be surprised when he reads the same news in "TAN". The same news is always published in "TAN" in an exaggerated form. A small abuse is exaggerated, prolonged, republished, and when the time is ripe a leading article takes the matter into hand with the style of a preacher. The analysis supposedly inclines towards the doctrines of Roosevelt, but actually almost always towards Marx. The necessity for the organization and control of commerce is advocated, but the state and the merchant are presented as giants from whom one can never find safety. "TAN" has a continuous tension which never calms down.
- (2) The second method is to get everyone to admit that the social and economic orders of the world are being changed. Together with the above-mentioned negative activity in a connection with this subject, a positive activity is taking place. Sociological and economic matters are discussed and lessons are often given. They are written like a text in a very vague manner, so that while the articles are speaking to people in general terms they are really material for Communist propaganda.

Articles such as these are read to a newly-created Communist and comparisons are drawn for him. The well-educated Communists can thus learn new examples and approaches, and in this way these discussions become exercises.

This kind of activity is put forward in newspapers to such a degree that even in crossword puzzles place is given to such words as statism, Marx, Stalingrad, and materialism. In this way material has been forged for the definition of Socialism, mostly Marxism, in terms that even children and women can understand.

(3) The third manner is to identify the Marxists inside the country and outside, and make them beloved by the people. The efforts by which every nation honors its own famous men are applied by the Marxists in every nation of the world. This is done in the following manner:

- (a) By publishing the works of famous Communists.
- (b) By praising the parts of the work of a scientist that incline towards Communism.
- (c) By propagating the socialist and Communist opinions of beloved poets.

This kind of activity hides the pecuniary aid involved. The following may serve as an example:

There exists in Turkey branches of the Hachette Library. The men at the head of this establishment are Jews who are simply interested in profit. For many years an agent has been placed in the Istanbul branch in order to sell Soviet books. His duty is to provide necessary books to the proper persons and hinder people from buying other than Soviet books. The orange-colored series of publications of the Librairie Humanite of France can be found here in large numbers, whether or not there is a demand for them. These orange-colored series are really the scientific publications of the Comintern, written by famous writers on different subjects like literature, archaeology, art, history, philology, sociology. On May first, the Hachette Librairie prepares a special corner outdoors exhibiting these orange-colored series of publications, or if weather does not permit it, exhibits them inside the library.

According to information published by the Germans in 1942 the Humanite publication house was a center for Soviet espionage in France. It is said that people were established there for the purpose of buying or stealing the patents for different arms in France. It is strange that a man who knows nothing about a writer should accept other peoples' praise of him at face value, but the Communists take advantage of this state of mind. Even in countries where there exists a control over publicity works are published in plentiful numbers.

During the years 1928-1934, Communists books were forbidden in Bulgaria, but were successfully published here through the above-mentioned methods.

PART THREE

THE PRACTICAL WAY OF MAKING PEOPLE COMMUNISTS

The first reason for becoming a Communist is discontent on the part of a

citizen with his own living conditions. It is necessary to study the internal situation of a nation to adapt Communist ideas to that nation. In general, the workman, the farmer, and the employee with a low salary fit best in this scheme of propaganda. The following is a typical example:

A low-salaried employee criticizes his circumstances in a labor union and speaks with such eloquence that he attracts the attention of a Communist who is present. Later the Communist congratulates this young employee for his arguments, and they talk the matter over. These talks are resumed on other occasions and the Communist impresses upon the young man that these troubles are not caused by personalities but are concerned with the principles at the base of the problems. Both speakers agree with the necessity of arriving at a solution for these problems. The young man is asked if he has enough courage to act for the good of his country, and since almost everything can be done in the name of the fatherland the young man is eager for further details. Accordingly, his period of instruction begins with great emphasis on the power of the Communist party.

Another example is that of a Turkish warrant-officer who was a prisoner of war in Russia in 1919 and who became a Communist there. He was sent to the famous Oriental University where he followed an engineering course. Having specialized in hydraulic engineering he eventually became a chief engineer in the water-supply system of Azerbaijan. In 1937 he was recalled by the Communist Party and was ordered by the Central Committee in Moscow to go to Turkey and establish himself at the Naval Base at Izmit. There he was to organize a group of young officers and warrant-officers so that a regional organization might be established. A Slav who knew Turkey well was ordered to escort him and controlled his relations with known Communists at all times.

PART FOUR

CONCLUSIONS

It can be seen from the above explanations that Communism and Soviet Russia have tried every kind of activity in Turkey, just as they have done all over the world. In spite of these activities they have not achieved quick results. The principal reason is that protection has been sought within the framework of the law and administrative authority to combat such activity.

It has been possible to act successfully in Turkey against Communism since the political aims of the Soviet are understood in spite of the fact that they are cloaked behind Marxist doctrines.

The two basic thoughts and principles behind which the activities of Communism hide are the ideas of political and cultural freedom and the ideas of humanitarian appeal.

It is well-known that nothing can be presented to the public in Russia without having been manufactured by the régime. The Soviet constitution has admitted legality and freedom only within the framework and principles of Bolshevism. Everything lies under its control without restriction and even with an unconscious fanaticism. Those who have lived in Turkey during the period of the Red Sultan, Abdul Hamit, know this form of government verywell.

In order to penetrate school and press circles every known method is tried. Works written by cultural writers are gathered from all parts of the world by the Comintern and subsequently re-issued throughout the world. If a Communist meets with disagreement he immediately brands it as Fascism and as hostility against democracy and freedom. The Soviet broadcasting services even try to defend some people who are being tried in Turkish courts. If these people are sentenced in Turkey they are accepted in Soviet Russia, and the sentenced men are given material aid.

It can be said that "only an idea can annihilate or enforce another idea". We must ask those who follow this concept what propaganda would mean in that case. In one of the numbers of the "Reader's Digest" there is a sign in front of a Jeep car which is a statement by Soviet soldiers, "These were manufactured by the Soviets".

How can you make a man who has lost his mind as a result of such material evidence believe sociological notions? There are many such intellectuals in all the universities of the world.

NOTE: In Part Three the word "employee" should be read "government official" throughout.

C O P Y

74

DEC 12 1945

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Ed:

Thank you for your letter of November 10, 1945, enclosing a copy of a memorandum prepared by an officer of the Turkish secret police regarding communism and the activities of communist agents in Turkey.

The memorandum has been read with keen interest and reveals a familiar pattern. The section of the memorandum dealing with "Tan" is particularly timely in view of the recent disturbance, which, whatever its inspiration, probably fits nicely into the Soviet program for Turkey.

Sincerely yours,

LOY

The Honorable
Edwin C. Wilson,
American Ambassador,
Ankara.

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867.006/11-1045

Confidential File

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9/11

RE: Lewis Jones:CC

12/7/45

DEC 11 1945	Unit
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Please return
file to ^{ME} JF after
letter is mailed.

JF

INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

DAE
HSA
HSA

AIRGRAM

1853

SECRET

FROM

Ankara

Dated August 30, 1946

Rec'd: Sept. 10, 1946
9:06 a.m.

LAF
ACTION-PC
INFO:
DC/R
S
U
EDR/X
NSA
OCD

Secretary of State
Washington.

A-203, August 30, 1946

Believe Department would be interested in seeing
Military Attaché's report of August 23, 1946, regarding
communist activities in Turkey. This report is No.
R-261/6. It also bears file numbers 3162.0706 and
ONI:103-200; 104-500.

requested
9-12-46

WILSON

To AV-BELL
9-13-46

HSBuralay:cr

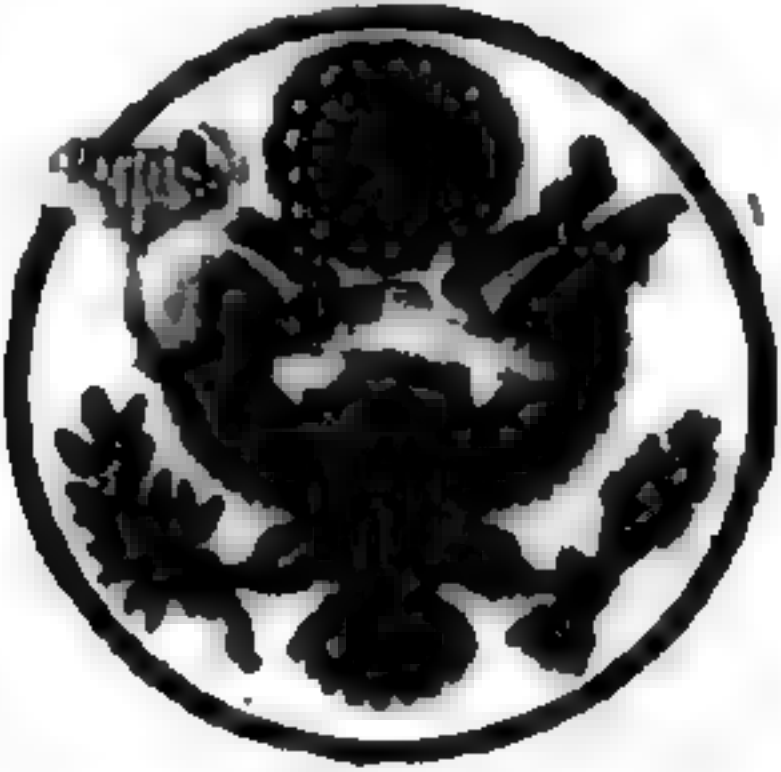


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SECRET FILE

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FEB 12 1947



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Ankara, December 7, 1946

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

No. 1273

SECRET

File
JAN 9 - 1947
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

Subject: Transmitting Memorandum Concerning
Communist Activities in Turkey

*PD-m Le Pictor - NE
War & Navy*

1/6/47

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to forward herewith a memorandum prepared by Third Secretary Stuart W. Rockwell concerning Communist activities in Turkey. This memorandum is based upon information in the files of the Chancery and the Military Attache, as well as upon personal investigation.

Respectfully yours,

Edwin C. Wilson
Edwin C. Wilson

File No. 800

SWRockwell:mab

To the Department in Original and Hectograph

CC: Division of Near Eastern Affairs
American Embassy, London
American Embassy, Moscow



FEB - 4 1947

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SECRET FILE

Unit	Unit
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Enclosure 1/ to Despatch No. 1273 dated December 7, 1946, from American Embassy, Ankara, Turkey, "Transmitting Memorandum Concerning Communist Activities in Turkey."

MEMORANDUM CONCERNING THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT
IN TURKEY

I. General

II. Types of Persons Thought to be Connected with Communist Movement

a. Doctinaire Communists

b. Newspapermen and Writers

c. Industrial and Labor Groups

d. Fellow Travellers

III. Communist Aims in Turkey

IV. Attitude of Turkish Security Authorities Toward Communist Movement

Ankara, Turkey
December 7, 1946
Despatch 1273

MEMORANDUM CONCERNING THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN TURKEY

I. General

From bitter experience Turkey has learned to fear and distrust the Russians, who represent a country which has been the traditional enemy of the Turkish state and which is now actively pursuing one of its centuries-old objectives: control of the Turkish Straits, with the resultant disappearance of the independence of Turkey. A manifestation of Turkish mistrust of Russia is the fact that the Communist Party is illegal in Turkey. (Until this year the People's Party has been the only legal party in this country. In 1938 the Law on Associations was passed. Article 10 of this law forbids the setting up of associations with international objectives.) Therefore, the problem of evaluating the composition and aims of the Communist movement here is different from that facing a person engaged in a similar task in a country where the Communists enjoy a legal status and operate above ground in broad daylight and full publicity. In Turkey the Communists must operate in secret, through "front" organizations and by influencing persons, institutions, and publications.

It was but a short time ago, that when Turkish Government officials were asked if there were any Communists in Turkey, the general sense of their reply was that there were none, and that no Turk would ever be so unpatriotic as to be a Communist. This latter theme is still maintained in support of the thesis that the majority of Turks would never turn Communist, but it is now admitted that there are Turks who have so far forgotten their patriotism as to become Communists. In the face of the Russian threat, and the present economic unrest in the country, the Turks, and especially those connected with the security organizations, have become very sensitive about Communism. In so doing, they have developed a tendency which makes evaluation of the composition of the Communist movement difficult--the indiscriminate use of the term "Communist". The following categories of persons are quite likely to be labelled Communists by the security authorities:

- a. Persons who favor a pro-Russian policy for Turkey.
- b. Critics of the Government of the People's Party.
- c. All Leftist journalists and writers.
- d. White Russians, and Armenians desiring to emigrate to Soviet Armenia.

During the political campaign leading to the July legislative elections, one of the weapons used against the newly-formed Democrat Party by the People's Party was the charge that the Democrat Party had been put together so hastily that it had not had time carefully to scrutinize its membership, with the result that Communists had infiltrated its ranks. Members of the Democrat Party indignantly deny this, stating that although unknown persons may have been taken into the Party, they

would be

would be immediately ejected the minute they commenced any Communist activity. While the Democrat leaders are just the opposite of Communists, it is considered quite likely that there may be Communists camouflaged within the Democrat Party. It is certainly one of the Communist aims to use the Democrat Party to undermine the Government of the People's Party.

The policy of the Turkish secret police, generally speaking, is not one of arrest and imprisonment of Communists, but rather of close surveillance and infiltration in order to discover Communist aims and activities, and possibly thereby to acquire information as to previously unknown persons who may sympathize with and support the Communists. But if the Communists should get out of hand, or begin to offer serious threat to Turkey's vital interests, there is no doubt that the most vigorous and ruthless suppressive measures would be taken.

It is believed that there is no large, secret, well-organized Communist movement in Turkey. However, there are certainly Communists here, and information so far received is to the effect that they have been able, especially since the establishment in this country of a multi-party system, to increase the scope of their activities, as described below. They represent a factor in Turkey's internal and external situation which will bear the closest watching, although at present the security authorities are believed to have them so well under control that they are not a serious threat to the unity of the country or the stability of the Government.

II. Types of Persons Thought to Be Connected with the Communist Movement.

Because of the secret nature of the Communist movement in Turkey, it is difficult to compile a list of persons who are definitely known to be Communists. On the basis of information available, it seems convenient to divide persons thought to be connected with the Communist movement into the following categories:

a. Doctrinaire Communists - Doctrinaire Communists are not numerous in Turkey, as far as the Embassy knows, but they are important because of their potentialities for the spreading of the doctrine. The following persons are examples of the more important doctrinaire Turkish Communists:

Dr. Şefik Hüsnü Deymer, head of the Turkish Socialist Workers and Peasants Party. Dr. Şefik Hüsnü is said by the Turkish secret police to be the chief of the Turkish Communists. The police consider the Turkish Socialist Workers and Peasants Party, comprising an estimated 7,000 - 8,000 members chiefly recruited from among the laborers in the state-owned Sümer Bank factories, the Zonguldak coal mines, the tobacco factories, the Istanbul Tramways administration, etc., to be a front for Communist sympathizers. Dr. Şevfik Hüsnü, who in 1925 was exiled from Turkey because of his Communist ideas, spent much time in Europe and in the Soviet Union. In the latter country he represented the illegal Turkish Communist Party in sessions of the Third International and the Comintern. He married a Russian. In 1940 he was granted permission to return to Turkey, where he resumed the practice of medicine and his Communist activities. His party has recently increased its activity.

Esat Adil

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Esat Adil Mustebabli, head of the Turkish Socialist Party and publisher of the periodical Gerçek, which has recently reappeared after having been closed by the Istanbul martial law command for refusing to refrain from "disturbing the mind of the public" by commenting on irregularities in the legislative elections. Gerçek has often been described to the Embassy as receiving money from the Russians. The Turkish Socialist Party is also believed by the police to be a front for the Communists. It is reported as having about 4,000 members and as receiving money and instructions from the Russians.

Dr. Şefik Hâsna and Esat Adil are said to differ as to the method of achieving the victory of Communism, Dr. Şevik Hâsna favoring a gradual policy of overthrowing first the People's Party by working with the Democrat Party, and then finishing off the Democrats, while Esat Adil wants quicker action. Both these parties, according to the police, supported the Democrat Party during the last elections, in addition to infiltrating personnel into it clandestinely.

Hikmet Nazim: An ideological Communist who picked up his Marxism in Russia, Hikmet Nazim is a poet whose Communist poems are popular and reportedly are widely read by the youth of Turkey. For this reason he is considered particularly dangerous by the security authorities. Since his return from Russia around 1926, Hikmet Nazim has spent only three years out of prison. He is currently incarcerated at Bursa, and his followers outside portray him as the martyred Orpheus of Turkish Communism. The leftist periodical Gerçek recently called for his release in an editorial entitled "Political Prisoners," which resulted in the prosecution of the author and his sentencing to a term of several months in prison.

Cami Baykurt: A confirmed communist, Cami Baykurt is reported to have worked for the Soviet intelligence service. He contributed to the pro-Soviet newspaper La Turquie, the presses of which were destroyed by the student demonstration of December, 1945. Cami Baykurt has recently received publicity as one of the founders of Marshal Çakmak's Society for the Protection of the Rights of Man.

Vedat Baykurt, son of Cami Baykurt, published La Turquie, to which he contributed active Communist propaganda. There are rumors that Vedat Baykurt has made great progress in repairing the wrecked presses of La Turquie, and that he will resume the publication of this newspaper.

b. Newspapermen and Writers: A number of Turkish newspapermen and writers, whom it is not correct to place definitely in the category of active Communists, are so leftist in their writings that they are considered with the Communists by Turkish security authorities. The most prominent of these are the Sertels, Zekeriye and Sabiha. The Sertels published the leftist newspaper Tan, which was destroyed by the students along with La Turquie. It is commonly thought that of the two, Sabiha is the most ardent leftist and might be considered a Communist. She is alleged to dominate her husband and to influence him to subscribe to her views. Like Cami Baykurt, Zekeriye Sertel recently achieved publicity when his name was discovered among the founders of Marshal Çakmak's Society for the Protection of the Rights of Man. The Turkish press was practically unanimous in declaring that any society of which Baykurt and Sertel were members could not be working for the true interests of Turkey.

Another

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Another writer who falls in this category is Suat Derviş, one of the best known of Turkish women of letters. Author of a book entitled Why I Am An Admirer of the Soviets, she was imprisoned for several months in 1944. Her husband, Resat Baraner, is also reported to be an ardent leftist.

Still another important leftist writer is Sabahattin Ali, who has often been in prison for his leftist activities. He is considered by the Turkish authorities to be in strong sympathy with the Soviet Union. Sabahattin Ali has recently begun the publication of a new periodical in Istanbul named Marke Paşa, with the collaboration of Aziz Nesin, who was expelled from the Army for spreading Communism and who used to contribute to Tan.

In addition to the periodical Gerçek (Truth) published by Esat Adil Mästecabli, the newspaper Sendika (Syndicate) and the periodical Yigin (The Mass), which are both affiliated with labor syndicates, have a strong leftist tone which has rendered them suspect to the Turkish police. To this group should be added the weekly Gün (The Day), which is edited by Esat Adil Mästecabli. Yigin and Sendika are reported to be closely affiliated with Dr. Şefik Hüsnâ's Turkish Socialist Workers and Peasants' Party.

recently

Under the provisions of the/amended Press Law, Communist or leftist publications must follow a very cautious policy in order to avoid being closed. In addition, practically all of these publications are printed in Istanbul, which is under martial law. The martial law commander has wide power over the press, and can close any newspaper which he considers to be disturbing the security of the district.

c. Industrial and Labor Groups: The Turkish secret police has received reports that Communism is making progress among the workers in such institutions as the State-owned Sâmer Bank factories, the Zonguldak coal mines, the Istanbul Tramways Administration, and the tobacco factories. A member of the staff of the Consulate in Izmir has stated that he is disturbed by the increased influence of Communism among the laboring class in that city. The success of Dr. Şevik Hüsnâ's Communist-front Turkish Socialist Workers and Peasants Party in recruiting members among the workers in these institutions has been mentioned above. The prevailing economic unrest and the continuing high cost of living are factors which have contributed to the spreading of Communism among the Turkish industrial laborers.

When, at the beginning of this summer, the Law on Associations was modified to permit the setting up of associations of the workers in individual trades and industries, efforts were made to group workers and technicians into politically independent bodies having no connection with the party in power. In many instances these efforts were made by leftist elements, and the resulting organizations were called "syndicates." The Government seemed to adopt a passive attitude, and some of the syndicates were quite successful in recruiting members from the laboring class. An attempt was then made to unite the syndicates into a central body called "The Istanbul Union of Workers' Syndicates." The lethargy of the Government disappeared at this point, and a countermove was begun to gather the workers into organizations established under the aegis of the People's Party. In

view of

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view of the funds at the disposal of the Party, this rival movement has made progress. The organizations thus formed are known as "associations". The central body with which they are affiliated is known as the "Union of Workers of Turkey", with its seat at Istanbul. The People's Party is careful not to come into the open as the sponsor of these associations. Supporters of the syndicates say that the new associations in no way defend the true interests of the workers, while members of the associations accuse the syndicates of trying to further Communist aims. This latter charge is believed to be not devoid of foundation. The leftest periodicals Sendika, Yigin, and Gün, mentioned above, support the syndicates.

In an apparent effort to control the activities of the syndicates, the Government is preparing a bill for presentation to the Grand National Assembly. The bill provides inter alia that persons who do not actually work as laborers may not be members of labor associations; that foreigners may not be members of the board of directors of the associations; and that workers' associations may not engage in politics or in political propaganda and publications, or be the instrument of the activities of any political organization. Labor associations which violate the provisions of the bill are to be dissolved by court order. It has been explained in the press that it is not a question of abolishing the existing syndicates, but merely of requiring them to change their statutes to conform to the proposed regulations; that the new bill will give labor associations an official character which they now lack and which will help them in dealing with employers; and that in their new official status the associations will be recognized as legal entities by the courts, a privilege which they do not have in their present unofficial state. The Legal Adviser of the Ministry of Labor has described the principal aim of the proposed legislation as the "protection" of labor associations.

The Soviet Union's interest in the syndicate movement in Turkey has been made evident by the violence with which Radio Moscow has attacked the proposed labor legislation. The November 26 Turkish language broadcast described the aim of Turkish workmen as the formation of a single union for all Turkey, and said that the frightened "reactionary circles" governing the country were preparing a law to prevent the development of labor unions. Noting that labor associations were to be forbidden to engage in politics, the commentator said "Thus the Minister of Labor seeks to prevent democratic elements from participating in the syndicate movement." After describing the hard lot of the Turkish laborer, at the mercy of the "reactionary" People's Party, the commentator concluded as follows: "Today, despite the many difficulties and the lack of democratic rights, the syndicate movement has developed in Turkey. The essential fact is that the workers have taken matters into their own hands and are very active. There are today tens of thousands of workers organized in syndicates. That is what is bothering the rightist circles in Turkey."

While it certainly would not be correct to label the syndicate movement "Communist", there is no doubt that there is Communist activity in the syndicates, a state of affairs which is disturbing to the Turkish Government.

d. Fellow Travellers: There is a group of people in Turkey who, while they cannot properly be called Communists, are either so pro-Russian or so anti-People's Party that they lend themselves to use as instruments of the Russians and of local Communists. The most prominent person in this category is probably Dr. Tewfik Rüstü Aras, former Minister of Foreign Affairs. He is believed once to have entertained Communist

ideas, but

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ideas, but now to consider himself a Socialist. He is thought not to regard Russia with the fear and distrust of the average Turk, and to favor a policy of rapprochement between Turkey and the Soviet Union as entirely natural for two neighboring states. There have been several unconfirmed reports that Dr. Aras is in contact with the Soviet Embassy.

Another person who can be included in this group is Zekeriye Sertel, who is said to be so embittered by the treatment he has received at the hands of the Turkish Government because of his leftist activities that he is a willing tool in the hands of such extreme leftists as his wife Sabiha. As mentioned above, both Aras and Sertel are among the founders of Marshal Çakmak's Society for the Protection of the Rights of Man, which is widely considered to be a leftist front organization.

Other persons who fall into this category are to be found among the professors at the University of Istanbul. Some of the students at that institution are also reported to entertain extreme leftist views, although they are reported to have lost faith in Russia as a guiding force because that country seems to be following the imperialist policy of the Czars.

III. Communist Aims in Turkey

Although it is logical to assume that Communists in Turkey do not lose any occasion to increase the number of followers of the movement, it is believed that spreading Communism is not the primary aim of the Communists here, at least at the present. They realize that now, when most Turks are united in hostility to the Soviet demands for Turkish territory and for concessions in the Straits, it is not a propitious time to try to enlarge a Soviet inspired illegal movement which would be certain to be vigorously stamped out by the police. Although economic unrest, one of the conditions essential for the spread of Communism, is present, the doctrine could be much more easily propagated at a time when the traditional Turkish fear of Russia was not heightened by a direct threat from Russia to the independence of the Republic.

Rather, it is believed that the primary function of Turkish Communists at present is the undermining of the unity and solidarity of the Turkish state. One of the ways of accomplishing this is the spreading of rumors, in coffee houses and other public meeting places, which tend to destroy public confidence in the Government. An easy source of such rumors are the Turkish language broadcasts of Radio Moscow, which constantly inform Turkish listeners how the "reactionary" Turkish Government is delivering the independence of Turkey into the hands of the British and American "imperialists", the enemies of Turkey in the first World War; how the Government is trampling upon the democratic rights of the people; how the "2000 families" are rolling in wealth mulcted from the peasants; how members of the "democratic opposition" are daily imprisoned and oppressed for their ideas; how the minorities are maltreated; and how the people, and especially the workers, of Turkey should unite and throw off the oppressors who are sucking the blood of the country and leading it to ruin through an anti-Soviet foreign policy. There is difference of opinion as to how large an audience the Moscow broadcasts have. (For an example of Communist propaganda in Turkey, see Military Attache's report No. R-432-6 of December 4, 1946.)

Another

Another Communist method of undermining the unity of Turkey is believed to be the setting off of one group within the country against another. The minorities are encouraged in their grievances against the Turks. Now that opposition parties are legal, it is possible for Communists to join and subvert them, such as is the case with the parties of Dr. Şefik Hüsnü and Esat Adil Müstecabli. Opposition newspapers and publications can be subsidized to print exaggerated and inflammatory criticism. It is alleged that Communists have entered the ranks of the Democrat Party, a sincere opposition organization, and have influenced some of the Democrats. The People's Party does not tire of charging that the Democrats, by unreasonable and insincere criticism, are playing the Communist game, but Democrat leaders claim that the Communists, who originally supported the Party, are now attacking it because they see that they have been unable to infiltrate it and use it for their own purposes.

Falih Rifki Atay, spokesman of the People's Party, says that the Communists in Turkey, by setting one group against another, are trying to make of Turkey a second Greece - a plum ripe for Soviet plucking.

Another important function of the Communists in Turkey is believed to be the furnishing to Soviet representatives here of all the information they desire. Soviet agents, employing for contact with the majority of native Communists a complicated system of letter-drops and go-betweens, are said to be tireless in their efforts to collect all kinds of political, military, economic, and commercial information. The Soviet officials are thought to be ignorant of the identity of the great part of their agents, who are recruited for them among native Communists and the minorities, particularly the Armenians. Local Communists or sympathizers with Communism who have positions in hotels or in the homes of prominent Turks and foreigners are said to be rich sources of information for the Russians. As a result of information provided them by local Communist agents and by members of the satellite diplomatic missions, particularly the Yugoslavs, Rumanians, and Bulgarians, Soviet officials in Turkey are reported to be familiar with practically everything of importance occurring in the country.

A third Communist aim in Turkey is believed to be to attempt to weaken Turkey's contact with the United States and Great Britain, and to bring the country within the Soviet orbit. To this end Communists spread rumors that an anti-Soviet policy is contrary to the most cherished wishes of Kemal Atatürk, that the United States and Great Britain will never come to the defense of Turkey, and that the policy of opposition to the desire of the Soviet Union to assist Turkey in the defense of the Straits is sheer madness.

IV. Attitude of Turkish Security Authorities Toward Communist Movement.

Rather than arresting all Communists and Communist sympathizers, the secret police follow the policy of close surveillance of known and suspected Communists. This is true with the exception of certain Communists who have been too successful in spreading their ideas, such as the popular poet Hikmet Nazım, and who are in prison. The police are believed to have been able to infiltrate agents into all Communist or leftist organizations, and from them to receive complete information concerning plans and activities. One of the motives for this line of action is probably the desire to give the Communists enough freedom so that they can reveal to the agents of the

police

police the identity of all those persons working or connected with them, and so that the security authorities can thereby gauge the strength of the Communist movement and the degree of support given it. It is certain that this policy would be abandoned for one of ruthless suppression if the Communist movement should get out of hand. At present, however, the policy is such that the chief of the secret police is able to maintain a friendship with one of the leading Istanbul Communists. The police are confident that they know everything that the Communists are doing, and the Communist situation is said to be so well under control that it offers no serious threat to the unity of the country or the stability of the Government.

On the other hand, the police are believed to have been entirely unsuccessful in their attempts to infiltrate agents into establishments of the Soviet Government in Turkey. The Russians rarely associate with Turks, and many live on official premises and do not often go out. The great majority of the employees of the Soviet Embassy and Consulate General are Soviet citizens, even the chauffeurs. Soviet intelligence operatives deal with their agents through an elaborate system of go-betweens. Much of the information they receive comes to them in writing, and they also can call upon certain of their satellite diplomatic and consular colleagues, with whom they have official contact. In their efforts to keep watch on Soviet activities, the Turkish police reportedly keep the Soviet Embassy and Consulate General under close surveillance and are believed to maintain lists of the names of persons who call upon the Russians. The Embassy has recently been informed that a special squad of three hundred secret police agents, clothed as street sweepers, waiters, taxi-drivers, etc., has been detailed to perform the sole task of circulating about the city of Istanbul in order to pick up and report the rumors being deliberately spread by the Communists and Russian agents. Another daily task of secret police agents is to mingle with the people who pause to look at the propaganda photographs posted in front of the Soviet Consulate General in Istanbul and to report their comments and reactions.

The secret police maintain extensive lists of persons whom it considers to be Communists or Communist sympathizers. These lists are circulated to police authorities throughout the country. The trouble with these lists is that they suffer from the fact that the police is very free with the term "Communist", applying it indiscriminately to Communists, leftists, pro-Russians, opponents of the Government, White Russians, etc. The lists are therefore much longer than they should be.

Conversations with officials of the secret police have revealed that the majority of Turks, guided by their traditional distrust of foreigners, and with their age-old fear of Russia heightened by the present Soviet claims against Turkey, have resisted the efforts of those who would convert them to Communism. It is the minority described in this memorandum, which has recently grown in numbers, that is receiving the constant attention of the Turkish security officials. Given the present delicate state of relations between Turkey and Russia, the possibility of Fifth Column activities on behalf of the Russians by the local Communists and their sympathizers is being given the closest attention by those charged with safeguarding the security of Turkey.

JAN 29 1947

SECRET

NO. 1068

To the

Officer in Charge of the American Mission,
Ankara.

The Secretary of State refers to despatch
No. 1273 of December 7, 1946 from the Embassy
regarding Communist activities in Turkey.

The subject matter of the despatch under
reference is one in which the department is
intensely interested and about which to date
little information has been received.

The initiative displayed by Mr. Stuart W.
Reckwell in securing this information for the
Department is commended, as is his careful and
intelligent presentation of the subject itself.

It is requested that the contents of this
instruction be brought to the attention of Mr.
Reckwell:

DOR NE Unit

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

1947 FEB 4 PM 12 24
No. 1326

AMERICAN EMBASSY
Ankara, January 6, 1947

MAIL ROOM **SECRET**

Subject: Communism in Turkish Governmental and
Educational Circles.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FEB 14 1947

DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

1/ 2/

I have the honor to forward herewith memoranda of
two conversations held recently, one a conversation
which I had with a high Turkish Government official,
and the other between a well-informed foreign professor
at the University of Ankara and Second Secretary Gnade.
The two complementary memoranda deal with communist
activity and infiltration in Turkish Governmental and
educational circles at Ankara.

Respectfully yours,

Edwin C. Wilson

Enclosures

1/ and 2/ Memoranda of
Conversation dated January 2, 1947.

File No. 800

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Enclosure 1/ to Despatch No. 1326 dated January 6, 1947 from American Embassy, Ankara, on the subject of Communism in Turkish Governmental and Educational Circles.

SECRET

Ankara, January 2, 1947

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

A high official of the Turkish Government recently spoke to me with surprising frankness of the extent of communist penetration in Turkey. We were talking of the measures taken by the State of Siege Commander in Istanbul on December 16 when some forty odd communists and communist sympathizers were arrested. He said: "That is all very well, but the persons arrested are only agents carrying out the orders of the higher-ups. Unfortunately we have confirmed communists in high places in our Government." When I expressed surprise, he went on to say specifically that in the Ministry of Education important officials, as well as a large number of professors and teachers, are communists. Also that in the Ministry of Economy there are influential officials on the Central Planning Board of the Ministry who are communists and who have effectively sabotaged much of Turkey's industrial and economic development in the past two or three years.

I asked what the Government was doing about it. He said the difficulty was to obtain documentary evidence to convince those in the Government who just will not believe that such a state of affairs exists. He said, however, that the situation has improved recently in the Ministry of Education where the new Minister, Resat Semsettin Sirer (appointed last July), has transferred a certain number of suspected officials to positions where they can do little harm. (I gathered that the former Minister of Education, Hasan Ali Yucel, was considered weak and uninformed rather than himself a communist sympathizer). Also, steps are being taken to be more vigilant in the Ministry of Economy. But, said my informant, "communism is growing in Turkey and that is a fact". He added that recent reliable information concerning the University of Ankara indicated increasing growth of communism among the students, with a majority of the students' organization (the Student Society) being communist.

Comment: My informant is a person I know well and whom I consider honest in his beliefs and straightforward in expressing them. He is in a position to be well informed, and appeared seriously disturbed over this situation. He is, however, while not an ultra-nationalist, perhaps inclined, as many Turks are, because of Soviet Russia's constant pressure on Turkey, to expand the label "communist" to cover not only those who are undoubtedly communists but also those of leftist opinions who, without necessarily sharing communist ideology, are vocal and active in their criticism of things as they are and of what the Government is doing about them. It is also not impossible that my friend's remarks may presage some measures to be taken against communist sympathizers in Ankara following those already taken in Istanbul.

Edwin C. Wilson

Enclosure 2/ to Despatch No. 1326 dated January 6, 1947 from American Embassy, Ankara on the subject of Communism in Turkish Governmental and Educational Circles.

SECRET

Ankara, January 2, 1947

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

Subject: Left Wingers Among University Students.

A well-informed foreign professor at the Ankara University told me yesterday that left-wingism of the type described usually by Turkish officials as "communism" permeates as much as one-half of the student body of Faculty of Languages-History-Geography. The professor believes that "communism" is a strong word for much of it, and that many of the students are of the political viewpoint which in pre-Nazi Germany was called Social Democrat - liberal, even radical, but not really communist.

He says that when the University was made independent, the rector and other officials hoped to be able to organize the student body into one student group. Efforts failed at this, and the Student Society (Talebe Cemiyeti) formed at that time now consists in his faculty only of the communists - about 50% of the students. The remaining 50% are divided into two groups: one called Halkçi is a hard-core nationalist group, the other called Demokrat is democratic and mildly liberal. Neither of the latter two groups is organized.

The leader of the so-called communist students is the daughter of ex-Minister of Education Hasan Ali Yücel, whose son is also active. Some students are doctrinaire intellectuals who have gained their dogma from various left-wing teachers like Behice Boran, Pertev Boretav, and Niyazi and Mediha Berkes - all, I believe, educated in the United States. Until his departure for the United States some year and a half ago, Professor Muzaffer Başoğlu was also a leader in left-wing instruction to the students. Other students were mostly left-wing from ressentiment, economic hardships, and revulsion at the present scene. Among the foreign professors the Sinologist Eberhard (who earlier was very friendly with the German Embassy) is said to be on the best terms with the left-wing group.

My informant says that the Government now faces a problem how to discipline left-wing teachers of whose work it disapproves because since the University has been made independent, the Ministry of Education has no longer the authority to step in and suspend or dismiss them from their jobs. He thinks, therefore, that the pattern now will be to organize demonstrations by students of the nationalist group in the lectures of the left-wing teachers; fist fights and other troubles will result; and the University authorities will be justified in suspending the holding of the lectures on the grounds of the threat to discipline. This was tried and true method in Nazi Germany.

My informant

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My informant thinks that left-wing activity at the University is strongest in the Geography-History and Languages Faculty - to which his percentage figures refer. There is also some activity at the Law and Medical faculties, but he does not know how much.

I mentioned the charge made in the recent budget debates that the Village Institutes were centers of communist thinking. My informant thinks it the natural outcome of the communal farm life led in the Institutes that the students should come to think that communal living is the best form. But he thinks this is a social rather than a political communism.

In connection with the Institutes, my informant deplored the fact that despite their many virtues, the Institutes seem to be widening the gulf between peasant and city-dweller. In the old days the village priest, doctor and teacher came from the city or had been trained there. Now, he says, with the Institutes, the teacher and the health official both come from the village, are trained on a communal farm, and return to the village. Priests are no longer supplied at all. The only contact with city-dwellers which the peasant has is with the district administrator, the agent of Government discipline, and the gendarmerie commander; both consider their assignments in the provinces as an exile, and when they work hard, it is often with the chief incentive of making such a good record that they will be relieved of their posts and get back to the city.

Richard E. Gnade



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Ankara, February 7, 1947

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No. 1408

SUBJECT: Comments on Speech of Minister of Interior
Concerning Communist Activities in Turkey.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State
Washington

Sir:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAR 21 1947
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

With reference to my despatch No. 1392 of February 1 forwarding a translation of the speech made in the National Assembly on January 29 by Minister of the Interior Sükrü Sökmenster concerning Communist activities in Turkey, I have the honor to submit the following comments on the address in question.

1. The speech is interesting as an official history of Communist activities in Turkey from 1919 until the present time. Throughout the account runs the figure of Dr. Şefik Hüsnü Deymer, considered to be the chief of the Turkish Communists. The Interior Minister's description of Dr. Şefik Hüsnü's activities as head of the Turkish Socialist Workers' and Peasants' Party corresponds in substance to the account of those activities given in the Embassy's despatch No. 1273 of December 7, 1946.

The following points brought up by the Minister of the Interior seem to be of particular interest:

- a. The Communist attempts to subvert the crew of the battleship YAVUZ, to penetrate the Ankara Reserve Officers' School, and to sabotage the Karabük mines (page 4).
- b. The report allegedly written by Dr. Şefik Hüsnü in 1945 setting forth the aims of the Communists in Turkey (page 6)
- c. Dr. Şefik Hüsnü's recommendation that the Communists support Marshal Çakmak and the Democrat Party (page 13)
- d. The Communist desire to overthrow the Government and set up a Soviet regime in Turkey. (page 15)
- e. Communist plans concerning the labor syndicates. (page 16)

From Mr. Sökmenster's history of Communist activities, the public again received confirmation of its previous opinion of certain personalities - Şefik Hüsnü Deymer and Esat Adil Mustecablioglu, the leaders of Turkish Communism; Cami Baykurt, Sabiha Sertel and Zekeriya Sertel, Communist fellow-travellers; and Tefik Rüstü Aras, the opportunist who might play the Communist fellow-traveller if it suited his game.

2. It was probably necessary for the Government to render an account to the people of the results of the investigations made in

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connection with the extensive anti-Communist measures carried out by the Istanbul Martial Law Command on December 16, 1946 (despatch No. 1295, December 20, 1946). However, when one considers the scope of those measures, the Interior Minister's account of what was found seems weak and unsensational. It certainly does not live up to the lurid stories carried in the press at the time of the arrests, which maintained that coded messages from foreign countries and documents written in Russian had been discovered by the police. The Foreign Office has informed me that Mr. Sökmensüer's speech was carefully pruned of any specific references to complicity of the Soviet Government or Embassy in Communist activities here, and that other documents were seized which have not been made public. While we have not been told what these other documents are, it seems unlikely that members of the staff of the Soviet Embassy or Soviet agents operating independently of the Embassy would be so indiscreet as to provide Dr. Şefik Hüsnü and other Turkish Communists with incriminating matter which could be seized by the police. Rather it is probable that Mr. Sökmensüer's speech, as originally drafted, inferred too strongly that the Russians were involved, and that it was toned down. However, the speech makes it plain that the Turkish Communists derived their inspiration from Moscow.

Although it is believed that Communist activities in Turkey have recently increased, the history of Communism in Turkey since 1919, as set forth in this official account, leads to the conclusion that the Communists have made little progress. The factors working against the growth of Communism - the traditional Turkish suspicion and hatred of the Russians, the innate Turkish distrust of foreigners in general and of foreign ideologies, and the strong individualism and democracy of the Turkish peasantry - are believed to be stronger than the factors favorable to the growth of Communism - the difficult economic conditions, the inefficiency of the Government, and the fact that the people are accustomed to living under an authoritarian administration.

The Minister of the Interior, in asserting that Dr. Şefik Hüsnü is a Communist, only confirmed what was already known to the public. Some of the documents quoted by Mr. Sökmensüer as having been written by Dr. Şefik Hüsnü were given no dates, and could have been written at any time during the author's long career as a Communist. The impression that the security police were hard put to find anything startling is further strengthened by the fact that Cami Baykurt, Tevfik Rüstü Aras, and Zekeriya Sertel, to whom Mr. Sökmensüer devoted so much of his speech, were not among those arrested on December 16. Furthermore, the Minister of the Interior made no reference to the newspapers and periodicals which were closed as suspected Communist organs. The Embassy has been informed that the majority of the persons detained on December 16 have been released for lack of evidence. If no evidence was found by the security authorities more incriminating than that described by the Minister of the Interior, one is led to the conclusion that little of real interest was turned up as the result of the December 16 raids.

3. It would seem that there were political motives involved in Mr. Sökmensüer's address. Throughout the speech particular emphasis was placed upon Marshal Çakmak, an outstandingly popular opposition figure, and upon the Marshal's seemingly friendly connections with such discredited characters as Zekeriya Sertel, Cami Baykurt, and Tevfik Rüstü Aras. Although the Democrats were praised for having

refused

refused to become tools of the Communists, the several references to the Communist decision to support the Democrat Party are certainly susceptible of interpretation as an effort to lower the prestige of that party. However, no thoughtful person believes that the Marshal, an aging national hero more adept at soldiering than at politics, entertains Communist sympathies, or that the Democrat Party is in league with the Communists. Public opinion, as judged by the press, has reacted strongly against this apparent attempt to smear the Marshal and the opposition.

The emphasis placed upon the letter written to Marshal Çakmak by Cami Baykurt and Zekeriya Sertel, urging him to withdraw from the National Assembly, is interesting when considered in the light of the "Freedom Pact" of the Democrat Party. The "Freedom Pact" authorized the Central Board of the Democrat Party to withdraw the Democrat deputies from the National Assembly if certain laws considered unconstitutional by the Party should not be repealed within a reasonable time. It is easy to draw from the Interior Minister's speech the inference that if the Democrats withdraw from the Assembly, they will be guilty of acting in accord with Communist wishes. In further reference to the Democrat demands that certain authoritarian and restrictive legislation be removed from the books, it can also be inferred from Mr. Sökmensüer's address that such legislation, particularly that concerning the powers of the police, is considered necessary to protect the country from the danger of Communism. While the "Freedom Pact" did not demand that there be lifted the State of Siege now prevailing in the six provinces surrounding Istanbul, the opposition press has occasionally maintained that martial law was no longer necessary. One of the purposes of the exposé of Communist activities may have been to convince critics of the wisdom of the Government's policy in continuing the State of Siege.

4. The Interior Minister's long and specific review of Communist activities is a radical departure from the attitude adopted publicly until recently by Turkish authorities that there was no Communist movement in Turkey, and that no Turk would be so unpatriotic as to be a Communist. Taken in conjunction with the December 16 raids and the Government's reported plans to bring the Communist-tainted labor syndicate movement under its control (despatch No. 1273 of December 7, 1946), Mr. Sökmensüer's address would seem to indicate that the Government had decided that the Communists had been given enough free rein. An interesting corollary is that the Government has given the widest possible publicity to Communist criticisms of conditions in Turkey.

5. In conclusion, there is ventured the following appraisal of this affair:

Leaving aside the possibility that incriminating documents were discovered which have not yet been revealed, the Minister of the Interior's account hardly seems to justify the extent of the anti-Communist measures taken on December 16, and leads to the conclusion that the Communist movement certainly does not now present a serious threat to the security and unity of the country. While rendering an account of the results of the December 16 investigations, the temptation to try to discredit the opposition in the eyes of the public may have been too great to be resisted.

Despatch No. 1408

- 4 -

From: Ankara

Date: February 7, 1947

Developments subsequent to Mr. Sökmensier's speech are being reported by separate despatch.

Respectfully yours,


Edwin C. Wilson

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File No. 800

SWRockwell/REGnade/vg ✓

To the Department in Original and Hectograph.

cc: American Embassy, Moscow
American Embassy, London
Division of Near Eastern Affairs

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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AMERICAN EMBASSY

No. 1409

Ankara, February 7, 1947

RESTRICTED MAIL ROOM

Subject: Developments Subsequent to Declarations
of Minister of Interior Concerning
Communist Activities in Turkey

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

MAR 6 - 1947

DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

SIB:

I have the honor to refer to my despatches
Nos. 1392 and 1408 of February 2 and February 7,
respectively, concerning the Minister of the
Interior's January 29 exposé of Communist activi-
ties in Turkey, and to report hereunder the sub-
sequent developments.

Three of the persons mentioned by Mr. Sökmensüer -
Zekeriya Sertel, Dr. Tefvik Rüştü Aras, and Marshal
Fevzi Cakmak - made statements to the press on January
30. Sertel denied that he was a Communist and said that
in the past the Government, despite its attempts, had
been unable to prove this charge against him. Dr. Aras
also denied that he was a Communist and declared that he
would have recourse to the courts to seek redress from
the Minister of the Interior.

Marshal Cakmak was first reported as saying that
the People's Party was trying to depict the progress
being made towards democracy as a Communist movement.
Mr. Sökmensüer replied to this in a public statement
in which he said that public opinion would very much
regret the Marshal's words. He added that the exposé
of Communist activities should have warned the Marshal
of the danger inherent in the Communist plans to use
him as a tool.

In a subsequent statement to the press, the Marshal
declared that he had been misquoted during his first
interview and that what he had really said was that the
efforts being made to proceed along the path leading to
true democracy were not the result of Communist intrigues.
The fact that he had not withdrawn from the Assembly
proved, he said, that he had not acquiesced in the plans
of the leftist group. "The nation knows well that I am
not a Communist nor an instrument of the Communists."

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In yet another statement to the press on February 1, Marshal Cakmak accused the leaders of the People's Party of trying to blacken the reputations of patriotic statesmen and of attempting to make trouble for the Democrat Party, instead of finding remedies for the conditions which were causing dissatisfaction among the people. He added, "Aren't the leaders of the People's Party unknowingly helping the Communists by trying to label as Communists, persons whose patriotism has been well tested?"

On January 31 Zekeriya Sertel published a letter in which he defended his right to suggest to the Marshal that he withdraw from what Zekeriya Bey considered to be an illegitimately-constituted Assembly. He ridiculed the fact that after all the frantic searchings which followed the December 16 anti-Communist measures, the few documents mentioned by the Minister of the Interior were all the police could find.

The whole question has been given front-page publicity in the press, and many editorials have been devoted to the subject. In general, the pro-Government press has adopted the attitude that the Government, through the address of the Interior Minister, was solely interested in warning the country against the dangerous machinations of the Communists, and that it did the persons mentioned by Mr. Sökmensüer a favor by putting them on their guard against the Communists. Vakit, Tanin, and Son Telegraf praised the vigilance of the Government, while the semi-official Ulus deplored the fact that the only living Marshal of the Turkish Army should have made so many mistakes upon entering politics.

The opposition press has maintained that the Government's main purpose in releasing the Communist exposé was to attempt to discredit the Marshal and the Democrat Party. Kuvvet declared that the People's Party had aided the growth of Communism by not finding remedies for the discontent of the people, and said that it was contrary to the national interests to exaggerate the Communist danger and to hold that Communism can only be stopped by extraordinary measures. "If the Minister of the Interior wished to bring pressure upon the Democrat Freedom Pact, he is entirely mistaken."

The following is quoted from an interesting editorial by Independent Deputy Cihat Baban in the opposition Tasvir: "The People's Party is prepared to sacrifice the great interests of the future for the petty interests of the present. For this reason, in order to discredit the Marshal, it has espoused Communist tactics by trying to make the public believe that even a person like the Marshal entertains Communist sympathies... We do not believe that T. R. Aras is a Communist... By playing himself off as a statesman enjoying the confidence of Soviet Russia, it looks as if he has wanted to become the leader or a prominent element in a so-called

democratic anti-Fascist Government which would come to a prompt understanding with Soviet Russia. There is not one person in this country in full possession of his mental faculties who is not desirous of maintaining friendly relations with the Soviet Union. But it is obvious that a friendship at the cost of our sovereign rights can under no circumstances be envisaged."

Judging from the reactions to Mr. Sökmensüer's address, it would seem that, if in fact the Government of the People's Party attempted to smear Marshal Cakmak and to pin on the liberals of the Democrat Party the Communist label or the tag of being unwitting Communist tools, it has had but little success in such attempt.

Respectfully yours,



Edwin C. Wilson

File No. 800

SWRockwell/oc

To Department in original and hectograph

cc: Division of Near Eastern Affairs
Moscow, London

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
DIVISION OF FR

AMERICAN EMBASSY

1947 MAR 3 AM 9 17

No. 1413

Ankara, February 10, 1947

SECRET

MAIL ROOM

Subject: Reliable Report that Russians not
Implicated in Evidence Concerning
Communist Activities Uncovered during
Raids of December 16, 1946.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir,

I have the honor to refer to despatch No.
1408 of February 7, 1947, forwarding comments on
the Minister of the Interior's January 29 exposé
of Communist activities in Turkey, and particularly
to the first paragraph on page 2 thereof, wherein
it is stated that it seems unlikely that the Soviet
Embassy or Soviet agents are implicated in certain
evidence which was uncovered during the anti-
Communist measures of December 16, 1946, and which
has not as yet been made public.

The Embassy has now been reliably informed that
the Soviet Union is definitely not implicated in this
evidence. Our informant further stated that the un-
published documents are of little importance. He
cited as typical a letter to Zekeriya Sertel from his
daughter, who is married to the American journalist
Frank O'Brien and who accompanied him on assignment
to Roumania. Mrs. O'Brien stated that after having
lived in a Soviet-occupied country, she realized what
a bad mistake her father was making in entertaining
Communist sympathies.

Respectfully yours,

For the Ambassador:

Herbert S. Bursley
Counselor of Embassy

SWRockwell/oc

To Department in original and hectograph

cc: Division of Near Eastern Affairs
Moscow, London

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MAR 27 1947

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To Department in original and hectograph

cc: Division of Near Eastern Affairs
Moscow, London



CONFIDENTIAL
THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 1429

American Embassy
Ankara, February 20, 1947

Subject: Turkish Government Moves to Minimize
Communist Influence in Village Institutes.

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

MAR 14 1947

DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

With reference to the Embassy's despatch No. 1392 of February 1, 1947, regarding the statement of the Minister of Interior Şakrî Sökmensuer on communist activities in Turkey - and with special reference to his statement therein that communist activities had been discovered at the Hamidiye Village Institute (near Eskişehir) in 1943 - I have the honor to state that the press of recent days has reported the arrest at Ankara of a woman named Asiye Elçin who formerly taught at Hamidiye.

At the time of the discovery of communist activity at Hamidiye, Miss Elçin was suspended from her post as a teacher of weaving there, and has been living at Ankara since that time. The press reports that she has been supported and protected by someone well known at Ankara, although no clue has been given as to this person's identity. She will now be tried at Eskişehir on charges of having spread communist ideas at the Institute. It is understood that some six of her alleged converts to communism among the students educated at Hamidiye who later went out as teachers to other Institutes are being removed from their posts.

The only press comment thus far on the arrest of Miss Elçin has been the question as to why she was allowed to remain untried for the years since her suspension from duty at Hamidiye.

In connection with the Village Institute question Prime Minister Peker mentioned in the course of a long radio broadcast of February 14, 1947 that the Government attaches importance to the training of village institute students with strong nationalist feelings: "We have, therefore, assigned a further sixty-nine highly educated teachers to these institutes."

Charges of

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Ankara, Turkey
February 20, 1947
No. 1429

- 2 -

Charges of communism in the Village Institutes were earlier made on December 24, 1946 in the Grand National Assembly during the course of debate on the budget of the Ministry of Education. Although - because of the mass of other debate on the same day to be reported - the newspapers carried only fragmentary material on these charges, according to Tanin, Istanbul, December 25, 1946, independent deputy Emin Soysal of Maraş asserted that "views had spread in the Institutes to the effect that the idea of nationalism, like that of God, had no foundation, and that these views were especially developed at Hasanoglan Village Institute" (near Ankara). "A communist whose name he did not disclose was going to Hasanoglan at night and giving lectures. The students were divided into nationalists and communists..." Later in his speech Mr. Soysal said:

"I recently went to Savastepe Village Institute" (near Balıkesir). "I saw a packet there. I called one of the students and got him to open it. It contained a book entitled 'The Socialist Struggle and Marxism'. I said nothing to him as I knew the director. I asked the children to tell me where İnönü was. They replied vaguely that they believed it to be somewhere near Ankara. They knew nothing at all of housekeeping etc., because they have no teachers. Should this state of affairs continue, the country will be faced with a great danger. Those who are attempting to spread these conceptions first want to run down the persons at the head of the country, to destroy the morale, and to bring the country to the same situation as Spain, Iran and Greece. Such persons want to attack and destroy our families, determined by our own laws. They want to destroy proprietorship. Gentlemen, proprietorship is the weak point of our peasants. Let them but attempt to touch this point, and they will realize their mistake. These men aim at a proletarian dictatorship. They will never succeed in their aim. The Turkish peasant will starve but will not be disloyal where his country is concerned. The Turkish peasant is not like the peasants they know. His nose doesn't run all the time. The Turkish peasant has a tradition of nationalism and proprietorship of which those heedless people are unaware. We cannot have our regime dictated to us by anyone. We have but one shortcoming, and that is our poverty. This we shall overcome, and we shall make this country a most prosperous one. No one must doubt this."

In reporting

CONFIDENTIAL

Ankara, Turkey
February 20, 1947
No. 1429

- 3 -

In reporting Mr. Soysal's talk, Ulus, Ankara, of the same date added that he had also charged that certain persons at the Village Institutes had proposed changing the Turkish flag (presumably omitting the crescent, associated with Turkey's Islamic past), but that the suggestion had been violently opposed by the directors, teachers and a great majority of the students.

Respectfully yours,

For the Ambassador:



Herbert S. Bursley
Counselor of Embassy

File No. 800

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To the Department in Original and Hectograph

cc: Division of Near Eastern Affairs.

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INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

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MAR 21 1947

FROM: Ankara

DIVISION OF

Dated: FEBRUARY 27, 1947

Rec'd:

Mar. 20, 1947

11:11 AM

Secretary of State,
Washington.

A-80, February 27, 1947.

Communist Activities - Turkey-February, 1947

Minister of the Interior Sükut Sökmenster's January 29 speech in the National Assembly, in which he gave an account of Communist activities in Turkey from 1919 until the present time and revealed evidence discovered during the anti-Communist measures taken in Istanbul last December 16, has been fully covered by despatch, as have subsequent developments. It has been reliably reported that the Soviet Union was not implicated by the developments seized last December, and the security police have informed a member of the staff of the Military Attache that they have no proof that Turkish Communists are in direct contact with Communists in other countries. Most of the Communist suspects who were arrested on December 16 have now been released for lack of evidence, although they continue to be under surveillance.

The security police now estimate that there are between one and two thousand confirmed Communists in Turkey, and from ten to fifteen times as many Communist sympathizers. An agent of the police, in a conversation with a member of the Embassy staff, described the aims of the Communists in Turkey as follows, in order of importance: to attempt to keep the Turks from demobilizing their large standing army, which is bleeding the national economy and hindering the development of the country; to cause internal disunity and unrest by playing off one group within the country against another; and to spread Communism.

Among the foreign diplomatic and consular personnel stationed in Turkey, the security police have informed the office of the Military Attache that they consider the following to be the most fanatic Communists: Colonel Ardeno Lekarsky, Bulgarian Military Attache, Ankara. Selim Kuzic, Yugoslav Counselor, Ankara; said to be an OZNA agent. Mijaz Dizdarevic, Yugoslav Second Secretary, Ankara; recently transferred. Mircea Trifon, Secretary, Rumanian Embassy, Ankara. Dimitri Karaghiossev, Bulgarian Vice Consul, Istanbul.

The Embassy has been informed that Mr. Blagoy Popyordanov, Communist archivist of the Bulgarian Legation, has been transferred to the Bulgarian Consulate General, Istanbul, where his job will be to report on the activities of members of the consular staff and the Bulgarian colony, and if possible to make contacts with Turkish Communist circles.

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Two sources have reported that Mr. Niko Cavouris, a Greek who owns a large export-import business in Istanbul, supplies to Soviet sources and agents money which is turned over to him by the Russians. An agent of the security police has stated his belief that the Russians are spending large sums of money for information, and that much of this money goes to minor officials of the Turkish Government.

On February 8 five members of the Gaziantep branch of the Communist-sponsored Turkish Socialist Workers' and Peasants' Party were sentenced to two years of imprisonment each. (The Party, which was headed by Dr. Sefik Hüsam Deymer, No. 1 Turkish Communist, was dissolved on December 16, 1946, for being a Communist cloak.) The five members of the Gaziantep branch were charged with "conspiring to establish the domination of one social class over the others, to eliminate the capitalist class, and to overthrow the economic, social, and legal order established by the Constitution."

The press reports that Miss Aciye Elcin, formerly a teacher of weaving at Hamidiye Village Institute, has been arrested for trial on the charge of having spread Communism among the students at the Institute. (It will be recalled that on January 29 the Minister of the Interior said that Communist activities had been discovered at the Hamidiye Village Institute in 1943)

The press also reports that, after six months of surveillance, the security police have arrested one Hüseyin Ogandor, employee of the Soil Products Office at Bicer, for spreading Communist propaganda.

The February 15 edition of HÜR, a weekly recently established by a liberal named Mehmet Ali Aybar, published an article on Turkish foreign policy which seemed to follow the Communist line as set forth by Radio Moscow. The article, which was written by Aybar himself, accused the People's Party of having made a British satellite out of Turkey and said that the Government was delivering the country to domination by Anglo-Saxon capital, "the same foreign domination from which we have been trying to free ourselves for the past 27 years." The article continued: "The impression that the course of Turkey's foreign policy is being determined by London is gaining in strength as the days go by." In conclusion, Aybar asked: "Who can still claim that a change has not taken place in the People's Party's notion of 'independence'?"

Consul Ellis Johnson reports from Izmir that in his district there are believed to be in the neighborhood of six hundred Communists, mostly factory workers and university students. Communist propaganda in Izmir has been spread by Moslem refugees from Yugoslavia and through contact with Greek Communists in the Dodecanese and on the Greek mainland. In the opinion of observers, factors which have contributed to the partial success of Communism in Izmir are the high cost of living, the alleged corruption of Government officials, and the high-handed manner in which laborers are treated in their personal dealings with the Government. The Communists are said to be limited to the city of Izmir itself.

Secret

WILSON

INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

SECRET

AIRGRAM

3214 *file* APR 18 1947

FROM: DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

DATED: March 31, 1947

REC'D: April 18, 1947
8:50 a.m.

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Secretary of State,

Washington.

A-122, March 31, 1947.

Communist Activities - Turkey - March, 1947.

Vigorous anti-Soviet and anti-Communist feeling continues prevail Turkey, and Turks' confidence in future mightily buoyed up by GT Aid proposal before Congress. Talk of economic rehabilitation possible under American loan elicited private Turkish comments that economic improvements would help eliminate whatever latent social revolutionary or communist tendencies found among Turkish workers peasants. Government reported drafting laws providing social security benefits for seamen and agricultural workers. This continues efforts 1-1/2 year old labor Ministry provide code labor laws for country.

Some 45 alleged Communists, including their chief Dr. Şefik Hüsnü Deymer, still jailed awaiting trial Istanbul since December 1946 arrests. Seven more - "Ibrahim Topçuoglu, electrician, Murat, Hilmi, Osman, Selim, Fahir and Şahap who set up Izmir organization Turkish Socialist Proletarian Peasant Party which was closed" - left Izmir March 19 in custody for Istanbul to join those awaiting trial (AKŞAM, Istanbul, March 30). Three more - "Mustafa Iştaş, Kocaeli Provincial President, Turkish Socialist Proletarian Peasant Party, and Etem Ertan and Rasim Yildiz, members Executive Board," arrested March 25, sent Istanbul (KOVVET, Ankara, March 26). Meanwhile, at Gaziantep on March 21 Hayri Kural, founder Gaziantep Socialist Laborer Party, sentenced two years imprisonment for subversive activities, reported found hidden in own house although supposed to be in prison. (ANKARA AKŞAM HABERLERİ, Ankara, March 22).

Frimin Peker, speaking on nationalism to Istanbul University students March 28, described communism as negation of nationalism, pled for generous concept cultural nationalism uniting all Turks of varying sects religions, national origins. (EmbTel 247 March 29). Ankara University students demonstrated March 6 peaceably against teachers, students, publications regarded as far left, even communist. (EmbTel 167 March 6 and EmbDesp 1487 March 12). University authorities still investigating charges subversive doctrines taught by accused teachers. Shortly after demonstration nationalist paper MILLET, Ankara, published provocative

quote

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From: Ankara, Turkey
March 31, 1947

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quote from Nov. 1921 article by present Ankara University Rector anthropologist Seyket Aniz Kansu defending communist doctrine. Kansu replied "Man's soul changes as does body. I was sixteen year old medical student when I wrote this article. In cultural life I have always been nationalist." (MILLET, March 20). Embassy doubts that Kansu - personally a Mr. Milquetcast, and politically brother of ex-Peoples Party Secretary General and always riding bandwagon - has any leftist leanings whatever. It should be recalled that short-lived party with communist doctrines officially formed with Ataturk's approval 1921 Ankara and included number prominent Turks whose attitude today is right of center.

Turkish press continuing anti-Soviet line, VATAN Istanbul March 8 published strong anti-Soviet blast Washington EVENING STAR'S Constantino Brown who was quoted saying: "I come from Europe. Communist peril should not be ignored, you should be on guard. Everywhere communist parties organized disciplined in contrast other parties poorly organized regulated. You do well take measures against Communists. Giving them chance means endangering democracy itself." Alleged Communist fellow-traveller Sebahettin Ali received suspended 4 month imprisonment sentence (which he is appealing) for libelling a Grand National Assembly deputy in his acidulous weekly comic sheet MARKO PAHA, which though violently oppositionist in manner which hurts Turkey's great men most - by laughing at them - hasn't yet been proven directly communist supported or inspired, or Martial Law Command Istanbul would have closed it. Alleged fellow-traveller Mehmed Ali Aybar's MSR was closed on March 18 by Martial Law Command for criticizing Command's action closing paper YENI SABAH (EmbDesp 1501 March 20). Aybar announced Istanbul March 22 instituting court suit against Martial Law Commander for indemnity against losses from unwarranted closure. Trial will bring court test legality Martial Law Command's farreaching assumption authority over Istanbul press. Moscow's NEW TIMES in French and English heretofore sold various bookshops Istanbul now reported only available one Soviet-sponsored shop because other dealers afraid student demonstrations or other punitive action against them.

New Italian Ambassador Renato Frumaz, alleged Soviet adviser (EmbAirgram A-39, Feb. 7, 1947, Rome's Airgram A-358, Feb. 27, 1947) presented credentials President Inonu March 25. Soviet mouthpiece Todorov Ambassador Zorin Simic, together with Press Attache Mihailo Markovic, left for Belgrade March 27. Soviet Ambassador Serguei Vinogradov left Turkey for Moscow July 18, 1946, and still hasn't returned. Rumanian Ambassador Grigore Moisil, accompanied by Embassy Secretary Aurel Docel, returned Turkey March 29 from trip to Bucharest.

Chief expression direct Soviet propaganda toward Turkey is Moscow Turkish-language broadcasts of one Erdem, well-documented with quotations current Turkish press plus citations from usually unnamed American publications supporting Soviet viewpoint. March broadcasts included customary attacks prominent Turks, labelling them anti-democratic reactionaries, plus new note on Turkey's role helping Germany World War II

and after,

S E C R E T

From: Ankara, Turkey
March 31, 1947

-3-

and after, together with assertion Turks would have attacked Russia had Stalingrad fallen. Broadcasts told Turks country's leaders selling sovereignty, liberty, to US imperialists for proposed loan. Soviet newspapers in Russian continue on sale in Ankara and Istanbul bookshops, though no Turk dares carry copies publicly.

Miscellaneous Communist angle news included report Izmir arrest as Communist of ailing 65 year old Jewish lawyer Yako Eskinazi. Though trial not yet held, Consul Izmir reports public believes accusation unfounded and resulted from personal feud with Turk who charged him hoping capitalize on possible anti-communist anti-semitic attitude some public officials. Interest shown by VATAN editor AE Talman recently in set-up American Committee on UnAmerican activities together with AKSAM interview published with Constantine Brown discussing same committee leads some people think Turks plan setting up similar group probe subversive activities. British Intelligence Istanbul reported feeling Soviets using old German Balkan intelligence set-up into which Soviet agents infiltrated war-time. With all eyes directed Moscowwards, currently unobtrusive German elements seem in particularly good position effect intelligence work. No confirmation. Refugees from Armenian SSR with blessings Turkish secret police now spreading word in Armenian community Istanbul regarding unfavorable conditions ASSR encountered by Armenian immigrants from abroad.

BURSLEY

RMGrado/ced

CC: American Embassy, Moscow
Division of Near Eastern Affairs

S E C R E T

INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

~~SECRET~~

AIRGRAM

3855



FROM

Ankara

Dated: April 30, 1947

Rec'd: May 22, 1947

10:42 a.m.

SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

A-166, April 30.

Communist Activities - Turkey - April, 1947

During the month of April Moscow Radio bitterly attacked the Greece-Turkey Aid in its Turkish language broadcasts. The following were the Radio's favorite themes: "Ankara reactionaries have thrown themselves into the arms of the Anglo-American imperialists"; "Aid will make Turkey a satellite of US"; "Turkish Army will have to take orders from foreign imperialists"; "US loan will reduce Turkey to slavery"; "Capitulations and the Ottoman debt all over again"; "Turkish reactionaries are attacking UN. USSR defends UN, is trying to assist spreading of democracy in the world, and does not interfere in internal affairs of other countries"; "Turkish Army is going to defend interests of American oil companies in Near East."

The Turkish press took note of these attacks and ridiculed the claims of Moscow Radio. However, one paper followed the Moscow line: Zincirli Hurriyet (Freedom in Chains), which alleged fellow-traveller Mehmet Ali Aybar began to publish in Izmir after his party-line Hur (Free) was suppressed in Istanbul by the Martial Law Command. The following is quoted from an editorial which appeared in Zincirli Hurriyet:

"Turkish State will be controlled by civilian and military personnel sent by America, and America will control administration of Turkey as it pleases. No independent state has accepted aid - either as a loan or as a gift - under these conditions...Where are we heading for? Will we sign a second Sevres Treaty on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Republic?"

~~SECRET~~

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867.00B/4-3047

CS/A

867.00B/4-3047 SECRET FILE

May 2 1947

A-166, April 30, 1947 - 2 - from Ankara

On April 19 a group of Izmir students, in an anti-Communist demonstration, forced its way into the printing establishment where Zincirli Hurriyet was published and destroyed all copies of the newspaper it could lay its hands on. Group, which was led by nephew of president of Izmir People's Party, shouted "Down with Communism". The demonstrators also bought and destroyed copies of leftist Sabahattin Ali's Marko Pasha. Uniformed police who witnessed this demonstration did not intervene, and Consul Johnson reports that policemen in civilian clothes were members of the group.

In a conversation with an officer of the Embassy, a young Ankara leftist, after complaining that the US was aiding the "undemocratic" Peker Government, said that "the Yugoslav Embassy will help us (the "real democrats" of Turkey) if the Americans won't." Although he said he hated the Russians as much as any Turk, he was convinced that Turkey must get along with Russia, and felt that the US was using Turkey as a pawn against the USSR.

There is now being heard in court the libel suit brought by Hasan Ali Yucel, former Minister of Education, against Istanbul Democrat Party leader Kenan Oner and Cemalettin Saracoglu, publisher of the opposition Yeni Sabah. Saracoglu had published a statement by Oner that Yucel had shielded Communists in the Ministry of Education while he was Minister. The Embassy, while it has received reports that Yucel entertains Communist sympathies, believes that these reports are without foundation and that Yucel while Minister probably was not aware of everything which took place in the Ministry. It is the general opinion that there are a number of fellow travelers among the employees of the Ministry of Education.

The racist magazine Ergenekon published an article claiming that Communism in Turkey has camouflaged itself as "pro-Russianism" and is operating on the cell system. The members of the cells do not know each other, according to Ergenekon, but in each region of the country there are key men who take orders from the "Turkish Communist Party Board of Administrators", which in return receives instructions from Moscow. Ergenekon listed the following "pro-Russianists":

Sevket Aziz Kansu, Rector of Ankara University. (Not regarded as a Communist by the Embassy.)

Hasan Ali Ediz, an employee of the Ministry of Education.

Hasan Ali Yucel (see above)

Hikmet

A-166, April 30 - 3 - from Ankara

Hikmet Kivilcim (in prison)

Nazim Hikmet (in prison)

Sadrettin Celal, professor at Istanbul University.

The article is weakened by its conclusion. "The police do not know who the Communist ringleaders are. We Turkists are the only ones who know this. We are the only ones who know that Dr. Sevik Husnu Deymer is not the real chief and who know who is behind the scenes. Yet we feel that we shall be compelled to wait for a few years before we reveal the facts."

With regard to the first paragraph above, the Turkish security police have stated that they have no proof of connections between the Turkish Communists and foreign Communist circles. Other racist publications have recently been publishing anti-Communist articles.

The Military Attache's office has received a report that Colonel Arsene Lekarsky, Communist Bulgarian Military Attache, is in contact with former members of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria who have entered Turkey and are now in the Turkish Army.

Bayrak, a publication of the students at Ankara University, protested on April 19 that, although on March 6th the students had informed the Rector that there were certain professors who were teaching "Red Bolshevism" and that this was intolerable, a committee appointed to investigate the situation has as yet reached no conclusion.

Lowell Edwards, correspondent of the London Daily Telegraph, has been transferred from Yugoslavia to Turkey. According to an officer of the American Embassy in Belgrade who passed through Ankara, the Yugoslav authorities attempted to persuade Edwards not to leave because they regarded him as the most "impartial" of the Western journalists. His wife, a Yugoslav, remained in Yugoslavia.

The trial of Yako Eskinazi, accused of spreading Communist propaganda in Izmir, has been postponed.

Because no printing establishment dares print it, Sabahattin Ali's leftist-tinged Marko Pasha has been reduced to appearing in mimeographed form. It is reportedly snapped up at high prices as soon as issued.

WILSON

SWRockwell:aha

Division of Near Eastern Affairs

INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

SECRET

1951

AIRGRAM



FROM

Ankara

Dated: May 29, 1947

Rec'd: June 12, 1947
8:46 AM

SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

A-203, May 29.

Communist Activities - Turkey, May 1947

The Grand National Assembly has approved the death sentence for two persons charged with spying for the Russians. One, Grigori Ivanof, was born in Astrakhan, and the other, Mustafa Sagir, was born in Kars. Both were residents of Kars at the time of their apprehension. They are being held in prison at Erzerum and will shortly be executed. An American correspondent who has just returned from Eastern Turkey reports on good authority that two other persons, a man and a woman, are being held on the same charge. The reaction of local observers is that it is likely that executions of people caught spying for the Russians are not infrequent, but that it is unusual for such a case to be brought before the National Assembly and given publicity.

Former Foreign Minister Tefik Rüstü Aras, widely considered a fellow traveller, won the libel suit he brought against the People's Party newspaper Ulus for an article which stated, in connection with the Minister of the Interior's statements last January about Communist activities in Turkey, that "Aras was the ringleader in all these activities. He acted as mediator and guided the Communists." On May 26 the court found Munir Berik, Ulus editor who wrote the article, guilty of libel, fined him LT 200, and gave him a six months' suspended prison sentence. The court further ordered Ulus to pay Dr. Aras LT 1000 damages.

Another libel suit which is attracting attention is that being brought by former Minister of Education Hasan Ali Yücel against Democrat Party leader Kenan Öner, who had publicly stated that while in

charge

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SECRET

867.003/5-2947

SECRET FILE #1111

JUN 23 1947

A-208 from Ankara

2

May 29, 1947

Persons of the Ministry Yücel "protected" Communist elements. Witnesses who have testified for Öner have stated that the following persons, mostly university professors and schoolteachers, are Communists and were "protected" by Yücel: Pertev Naili Boratav, Adnan Cemgil, Niyazi Berkes, Sadreddin Celal, Sabahattin Ali, Nail Hakkı Tüngüç, Orhan Veli, Hasan Ali Ediz, Muzaffer Sherif, Süad Taser, Behice Boran, Cevdet Kudret Soluk, Emin Çeknel, Nurettin Celik, Habi Dincer, Leyla Özbay and Nazife Cemgil. The Embassy is not in a position to state categorically whether these persons are actual Communists, fellow travellers, Socialists, or perhaps even liberals in the Western sense. In the present anti-Communist attitude of the Turkish Government and people, the term "Communist" is being used very freely. Hasan Ali Yücel, who considers himself nothing more radical than a liberal, has informed the Embassy that many of the people who have testified against him are racists and that when it is his turn to testify, he will show how these persons tried to drag Turkey into the war on the side of Germany.

The National Education Committee of the National Assembly has decided to postpone consideration of the budget of the University of Ankara pending the results of an investigation being made in the University because of student charges that certain professors are spreading Communism in the classroom. The students are said to object that the following professors, whom they consider Communist sympathizers, continue to teach at the University: Mr. and Mrs. Niyazi Berkes, Pertev Naili Boratav, Mrs. Behice Boran, Sabahattin Ali, Muzaffer Sherif, and Nusret Nizir.

There is now being heard in Ankara the appeal of the decision of the Sivas Criminal Court in the case of the members of the Gaziantep branch of the suppressed Communist-front Turkish Socialist Workers' and Peasants' Party. As has been reported, these people were sentenced to two years in prison for conspiring to establish the domination of one social class over the others and to overthrow the capitalist system. The press reports their names as follows: Hasan İyaz, Galip Ataç, Nuri Özkan, and Necip Diker.

Consul Johnson transmits from Izmir a report that members of the suppressed Communist-front Turkish Socialist Party have been arrested in that city on the charge of corresponding in code with a Communist organization in Vienna.

The Embassy has been informed by a source with connections in

Soviet

SECRET

A-208 From Ankara

- 3 -

May 29, 1947

Soviet and satellite circles in Ankara that Soviet Charge Pavel Korchov is nothing but a figurehead and that the person who really runs the Soviet Embassy is the NKVD representative, First Secretary Vassili Kornev.

Sabahattin Ali, who has often been described to the Embassy as a fellow traveller, seemed to have been silenced when his bitterly satirical opposition weekly Marko Pasha was recently closed by court order. Shortly thereafter, however, he brought out a new weekly called Merhum Pasha (The Late Pasha). This periodical has the same format and policy as Marko Pasha and is proving to be just as popular with the public.

On June 27 Sabahattin Ali received a more telling blow when he lost his appeal of a previous sentence of four months in prison for an article in Marko Pasha libelling one of the Deputies in the Grand National Assembly. He has now been sent to prison to serve this sentence. It remains to be seen whether Merhum Pasha will continue publication.

Vatan editor Ahmet Emin Yalman has renewed editorially his suggestion that there be established in Turkey a committee similar to the Dias Committee to investigate activities inimical to the welfare of the state.

WILSON

SWRockwell:aha

cc: Division of Near Eastern Affairs

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS
TELEGRAPH BRANCH

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
INCOMING TELEGRAM

ACTION COPY

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

HPB

JUN - 9 1947

Feb
DIVISION OF

NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

Control 2150

Rec'd June 6, 1947
7:52 a.m.

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RESTRICTED

Action: NEA

Info:

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FROM: Ankara

TO : Secretary of State

NO : 421, June 6, 11 a.m.

Press June 4 announced execution Erzurum two Turkish nationals, one of Russian origin, after conviction (Embassy's A-208, May 29) by military court espionage for Soviet Union.

WILSON

EEC:ABC

867.00B/6-647

RESTRICTED

JUN 17 1947

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INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

SECRET

AIRGRAM

FROM 2282

Ankara

Dated: June 28, 1947

Rec'd: July 17, 10:37 a.m.



Secretary of State

Washington.

A-227 - June 28, 1947.

Communist Activities - Turkey - June 1947.

Moscow Radio continues its vituperative attacks on Turkish Govt and on American Aid-to-Turkey project, alleging Turk people disturbed at seeing country turned over to American rule by Turk reactionaries who count on US aid to maintain their dominant position; that American help for Turkey based on American policy of defense of American oil interests in Middle East. Moscow's broadcasts received little attention this month in Turk press and no evidence available to show that they reach significant Turk audience.

Moscow Press attacked Turk weekly periodical Millet for publishing map allegedly prepared by Politburo showing manner Anatolia was to be split up into various Soviet republics (Moscow telegram 1982 to Dept, repeated to Ankara as 25, June 2). Millet continued publishing widely-read series articles on alleged Soviet efforts infiltrate Republican Turkey, set up Communist-favoring stooges in high posts, discredit anti-Soviet leaders.

Local repercussions international communist activities included: Arrival Istanbul May 19 (first publicized Turk press June 5) of group of eight highly placed Rumanian refugees fleeing "Soviet created hell" (Embtels 422, June 6 and 432, June 9). Hungarian Minister Bela Andahazy-Kasnya and most of his staff refused recognize new Soviet-stooge Govt Hungary; only Legation Counselor George Perenyi Lukacs accepted orders of new Govt, became Chargé d'Affaires (Embtels 450, June 15 and 451, June 14). PrMin Peker told representative Oecumenical Patriarchate that if ecclesiastical barriers insufficient prevent appointment Bulgarian Archbishop Istanbul, as proposed by Bulgarian Exarch, Turk Govt - agreeing that such an appointee might well be instrument Soviet-sponsored that appointee could enter Turkey.

867.008/6-2847

SECRET
FILED

AUG 4 1947

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Ankara, Turkey

SECRET

A-227

June 28, 1947

-2-

Little news on local communist front: Investigation of members of Ankara University teaching staff charged with Communist leanings continued (Embairgram, Communist Activities, May 1947, No. A-208, May 29). Council of State - supreme administrative appeal body - is to study report prepared by faculty investigation committee. Istanbul University Rector Siddik Simi Onar told Yarin newspaper reporter (June 5): "There are no communist teachers at Istanbul University. Besides, if communism is an offense, its penalty is determined by law." When reporter mentioned some names, Rector replied: "Some teachers were tried by military court and acquitted. The court decision stands final for us. We can do nothing else". Former Princeton teacher psychologist Muzaffer Serif Pasoglu still in US has been dropped from Ankara University payroll on grounds of marriage to foreign (American) wife which is against Govt Officials Law provisions; actual reason is purge of suspect leftwing elements. Another instructor, Azar Erhat, has also been dropped for same reason.

Meanwhile, former Education Min Hasan Ali Yücel's suit against Democrat Party Istanbul chairman Kenan Oner for asserting Yücel while Education Min protected Communists continues without much credit but many words on both sides. Yücel has opened two new suits against his derogators (May Communist Activities Airgram) who allege he protected Communists in Education Ministry.

Ex-Ankara Conservatory professor and journalist Sebahattin Ali, serving four months jail term for libel, has received three additional months sentence on another libel case just decided. Turkish students have protested Hungarian State Railways administration posters distributed Budapest advertising international railways football matches because Turkish flag reproduced on posters, if star is covered, shows Soviet hammer and sickle as result of superimposing a T on the crescent. Students also figured in semi-comic incident Ankara June 15 when, at Halkevi ceremony honoring memory of Atatürk, first film showed proved to be old Soviet-made short featuring speech by then PriMin (now President) İnönü emphasizing reasons for Turk-Russian friendship; investigations now underway to determine how film got on program.

WILSON

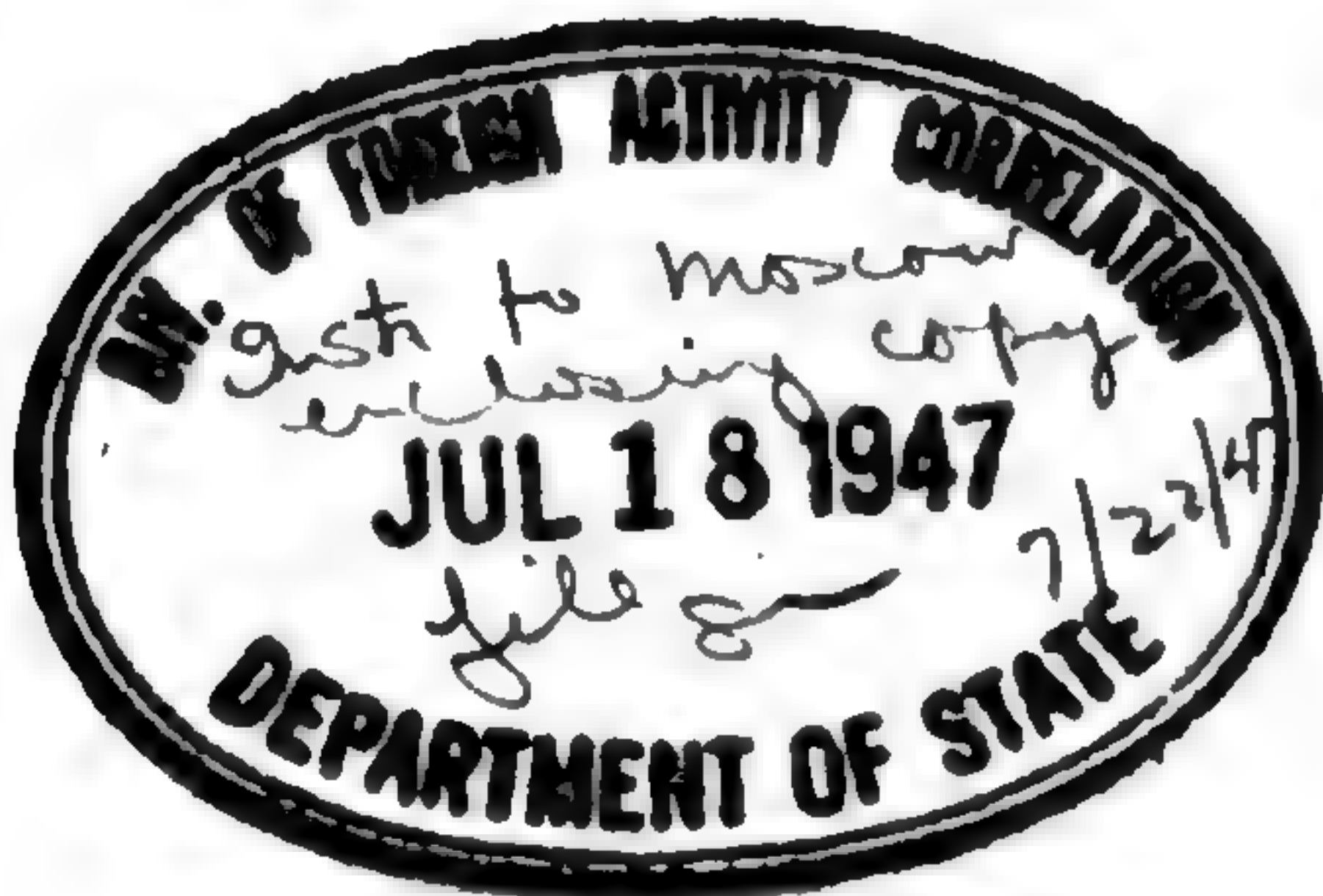
REGnade/lj

cc: Division of Near Eastern Affairs

SECRET

INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH



SECRET

AIRGRAM

2284

JUL 30 1947

2

LAF
ACTION: FC
INFO:
DC/R
S/S
U-E
EUR/X
EUR
NEA

FROM: Ankara

DATE: July 1, 1947

REC'D: July 17, 10:37 a.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

A-233, July 1, 1947.

Communist Activities - Turkey - June 1947.

Following supplements our Airgram A-227 of June 28, 1947. Due to transmission delays this additional information was received belatedly at American Embassy, Ankara, from the Consulate at Izmir.

A local court at Izmir has called before it two Czechoslovakian technicians from the Skoda Works on a charge of communist propaganda. These persons have been in Izmir approximately seven weeks in connection with installation of a boiler at the electric power plant. The case has been adjourned for submission of additional evidence. (The Embassy has requested the Consulate to furnish the names of these individuals and further comment.)

In Izmir suspicion has been aroused as a result of frequent protracted breakdowns in the electric current service in the course of the visit of American (Survey) Missions. It is alleged that communist elements in the power plant are responsible.

The Izmir democratic newspaper reports that fairly serious fire damage to the Sumer Bank factory next to the American hospital at Adana, while the American Mission was there, was the work of communist saboteurs.

These reports of alleged sabotage have received some attention in the Turkish Press, which however has not yet produced anything very conclusive on the subject.

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WILSON

367. COB/7-147

SECRET FILE

FILED

AUG 4 - 1947

JUL 30 1947

SECRET

No. 1983

To the

Officer in Charge of the American Mission,
Moscow.

867.00B/7-147
The Secretary of State transmits for the information of the Embassy copies of airgram No. 227, June 28, 1947 and airgram No. 233, July 1, 1947 from the American Embassy, Ankara, on Communist activities in Turkey.

The American Embassy at Ankara is being instructed to send copies of its subsequent reports on Communist activities in Turkey to the American Embassy, Moscow.

Enclosures:

- ✓ 1. Copy of airgram No. 227, June 28, 1947 from Ankara.
- ✓ 2. Copy of airgram No. 233, July 1, 1947 from Ankara.

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FC:SMorris:egc
7/22/47

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JUL 29 1947 P.M.

867.00B/7-147

CS/A

867.00B/7-147

JUL 30 1947

SECRET

No. 1188

To the

Officer in Charge of the American Mission,
Ankara.

The Secretary of State requests that the Embassy transmit copies of all future airgrams on Communist activities in Turkey to the American Embassy in Moscow, which has expressed a desire to receive such reports.

The Embassy is commended for its reports on Communist activities. The Department has found them most informative.

867.00B/7-147

VT

CS/A

FC:SMorris:egc
7/22/47 yNB.

NE

SECRET

JUL 29 1947 P.M.

SECRET

867.00B/7-147

INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH



AIRGRAM

1499

From: Ankara, Turkey

Dated: September 30, 1947

Rec'd: Oct. 14, 1947
11:42 AM

SECRET

3
LAF
ACTION FC
INFO
DC/R
A-A
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THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
WASHINGTON.

A-312, September 30, 1947.

Communist Activities, Turkey - September 1947.

Moscow Radio

No important change has been noted in Moscow's Turkish language broadcasts during past month but persistence of Russian propaganda campaign, together with Vishinsky's speeches before UN, have caused some press reaction. Democratic Party paper KUDRET, Sept. 24, ran long editorial entitled "Destructive and Ominous Propaganda" which included following paragraph:

"Democratic Party, contrary to loud talk of Moscow radio that 'independence of Turkey is being sold to America' has been loyal to its program and has taken its place with all democratic nations with America at their head and has thus represented general will of Turkish nation."

MEMLEKET, Sept. 28, also takes editorial crack at Radio Moscow and notes that "what angers USSR most is Truman Doctrine and American Aid".

Internal

The question of extreme Leftist views of some members of faculty of Ankara University caused Grand National Assembly, when it was debating question some months ago, to postpone approval of appropriations for University budget. As result, Senate (governing body) of University has been making investigations and will consider findings of investigation and appropriate action thereon at forthcoming meeting. Charges of Communist activities at Ankara University have also been brought out in Hasan Ali Tuzel-Kenan Oner trial. (Airgram A-261, July 29)

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867.00B/9-3047

FILED
SECRET FILE

SECRET

A-312, Ankara, September 30, 1947

- 2 -

W N F

Refugees

Trial of three Rumanian officers accused of shooting crewman while escaping to Turkey (airgram A-290, Aug. 29) opened Sept. 29. Trial attracted wide interest as there has been speculation as to how Turkey would justify taking jurisdiction over case which apparently involved commission of crime in air above Rumanian territory. One suggestion is application of law of high seas under which crimes are tried at first port of call. During first session, defendants who described themselves as political refugees, made numerous statements regarding terrorist regime in Rumania, citing incidents of atrocities and asserting that 10,000 Rumanian officers had been deported Siberia. The officer charged with actual shooting declared mechanic had failed obey orders to go rear of plane and had struggled with him which resulted in shooting. He said he had not intended to kill mechanic. Court was adjourned until Oct. 7.

Rumanian Govt., by agreement with Turkish Govt., sent crew to recover stolen plane on Sept. 16. No further reports have been heard of Rumanian attempts to extradite refugees.

According to information obtained by Military Attaché, Rumanian Colonel who made solo escape by plane to Turkey (despatch No. 1839, Sept. 16) has been identified as Col. Stanculescu, formerly General Secretary of Rumanian Royal Aero Club.

Eighteen refugees from Balkan countries who escaped to Turkey via Greece reached Istanbul Sept. 3. (Despatch No. 1839, Sept. 16)

Balkan Satellites

Because of guerrilla activity along Turkish-Greek frontier, railway across envelope of Maritza, according to press reports of Sept. 9, is exposed to constant danger. Consequently, service on Istanbul-Edirne line has been suspended between Karsagach and Edirne. Passengers will be conveyed by auto bus between those points.

W N F

Soviet Charge d'Affaires, Ankara, supported Yugoslav representations regarding possible admission by Turkey of war criminals among DP's of Yugoslav origin. (Airgram A-305, Sept. 22)

Yugoslav Ambassador, Hajine Sinich, in press conference at Istanbul Sept. 11, lectured assembled correspondents on duties and obligations of Turkish press to refrain from criticising Yugoslavia. (Despatch No. 1839, Sept. 16)

Sofia

SECRET

SECRET

A-312, Ankara, September 30, 1947

- 3 -

Sofia correspondent of Anatolian Agency reports Sept. 29 that Menol Zagrov, Marko Delche Markov and Stoiko Balov, (sic), members of suppressed Agrarian Party, have been arrested "for having established liaison with Turkey, for organizing escape of many persons across frontier and for having given military, political and economic information to foreign state".

Seven leaders of Agrarian Party of Bulgaria who fled to Turkey in August (despatch No. 1825, Sept. 5) have been identified as Constantine Panchev Shopov, Deputy; Gheorghi Kolev Iliev, Deputy; Stratiya Sherlev Siderov, Deputy; Dr. Veliko Mateev Bener; Loxio Gheorghiev Dimitrov; Jordan Stoyanov Baychev; Jordan Stoyanov Pinalaki. Representative of Military Attaché's office who was permitted to interview refugees learned that one Stoyan Roschkof, engineer, had planned to make his escape with them but decided to postpone attempt.

Consul, Izmir, reports that members of crew of Polish steamer LEVANT got into brawl evening of Sept. 29 during which they insulted Turkish police and civilians and said that Soviet Union would soon conquer Turkey. Chief offenders were arrested and two men hospitalized.

Miscellaneous

WNF

Rumors that Soviet airplane made forced landing near Izmir on Aug. 28 (airgram A-296, Sept. 5) continued to circulate notwithstanding official denial of incident. American Consul, Izmir, reported that it is believed possible that Soviet planes were making night visits to Greek island of Nikaria where Greek Communists, arrested by Athens Govt., are confined. Turkish General Staff has flatly denied to Military Attaché the truth of reported landing of Soviet plane in Turkey.

At opening of Izmir Fair, Soviet flag was found flying over entrance to fairgrounds among Turkish flags. According to newspaper reports, incident was mistake due to similarity of Turkish and Soviet flags but American Consul reports that many consider it to have been act of defiance by "secret Communists".

CUMHURİYET, Sept. 29, reports that Turkish pilgrims travelling through Syria enroute to Mecca are preyed upon by Soviet agents who subject them to intensified Communist propaganda. Report says Turkish Govt. has directed pilgrims to proceed to Jidda by sea and avoid overland travel in Syria.

BURSLEY

CC: Division of Near Eastern Affairs; Embassy, Moscow

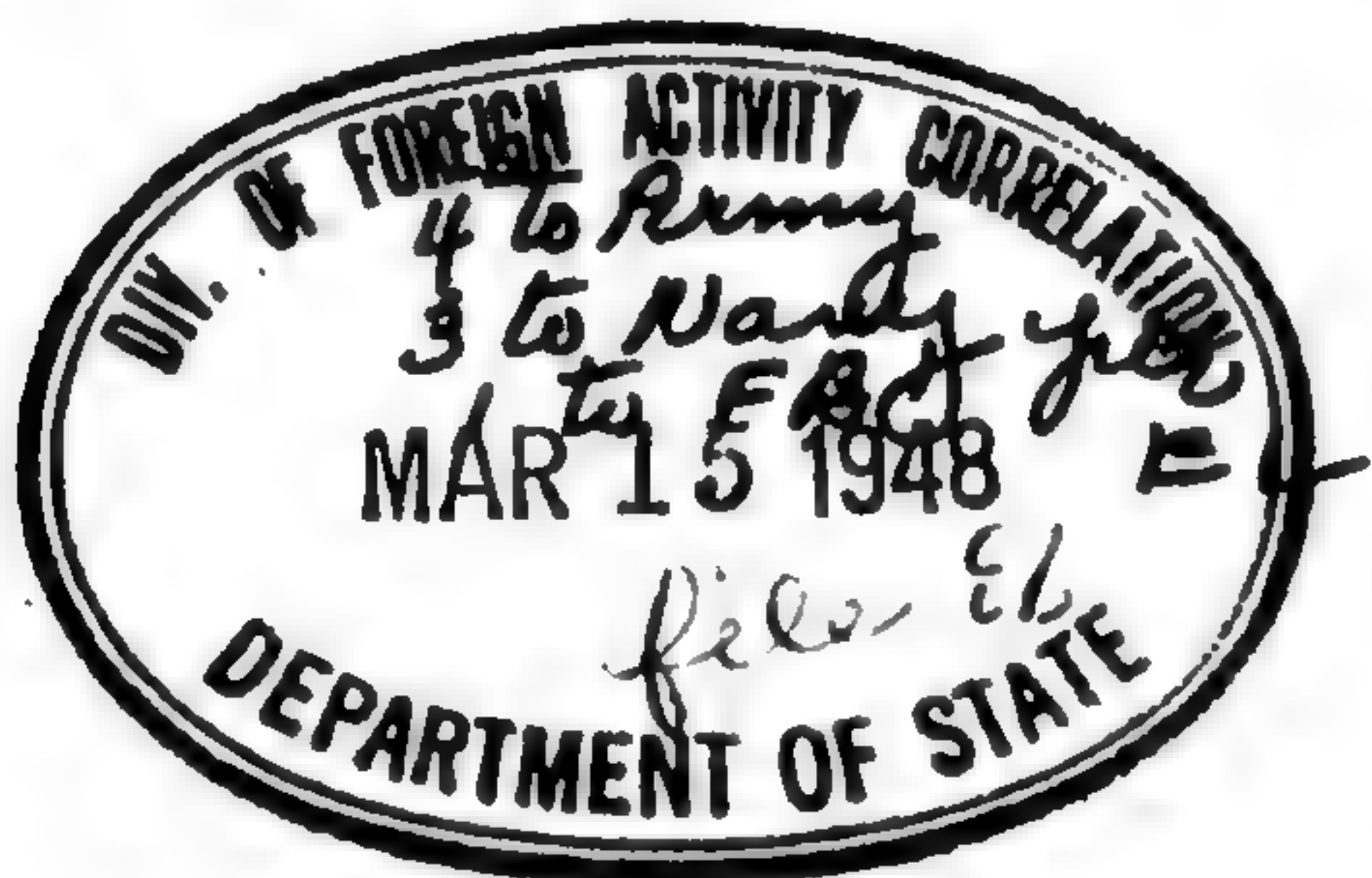
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SECRET

INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

AIRGRAM



FROM 1972

Ankara

Date: February 28, 1948

Mailed: March 12, 1948
8:18 a.m.

Rec'd:

1
A
ACTION:FC SECRET
INFO:

DC/R THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

L
G WASHINGTON.

A-54, February 28, 1948.

Communist Activities - Turkey, February 1948.

Radio Propaganda

Communist controlled Turkish language radio broadcasts have not introduced new tactics. Moscow Radio continues verbal war against ERP and aid to Turkey, insisting U.S. demanded military bases and commercial concessions from Turkey return for dollars. Free Azerbaijan Radio makes frequent appeals to Kurdish nationalism. Belgrade Radio accuses U.S. of demanding Turkish Govt. admit Turkish territory General Anders' Polish army "to protect American airfields, bases and concessions".

Internal

Patriarch of Moscow reported to have announced in recent bulletin that there was no longer any reason for Russian Church to recognize authority of Phanar over Russian congregations outside the Soviet Union.

Echoes Ankara University student demonstration resulting dismissal three leftist professors still being heard. Feb. 7 newspaper CUMHURİYET published letter from American Professor Carroll C. Pratt criticizing Turk authorities and defending principle academic freedom. Govt. party newspaper ULUS replied to letter, scolding Professor Pratt for intervention Turkish internal matter. (Despatch No. 70, Feb. 13).

Inter-University Council, to which decision Ankara University to dismiss three professors was appealed, after week's deliberation over-ruled Ankara University, thus re-instating professors. It is reported that while Minister of Education (President of

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867.00B/2-2848

SECRET FILE

FILED

MAR 23 1948

Ankara, Turkey

February 28, 1948

- 2 -

Council) and representatives of Ankara University were opposed to decision, they were over-ruled by more numerous representatives Istanbul University who made issue academic freedom. Reported Ankara University considering abolishing chairs held by professors to prevent teaching.

Left wing weekly ZINCIRLI HURRIYET reappeared Istanbul news stands Feb. 5 after nearly year of suspended activity. It was still published by leftist Mehmet Ali Aybar, former professor Istanbul University. First issue periodical followed party line, attacking U.S. and policy of Turkish Govt. Also caused indignant reaction by publishing parody Ataturk's address to Turkish youth in speech Oct. 15, 1927. (Despatch No. 66, Feb. 11).

Periodical has not reappeared since first edition because of unwillingness proprietor printing establishment to continue its publication.

Consul, Izmir, reports security police continuing vigilance toward Communist activities and persons suspected Communist sympathies. No incidents reported his district.

U.S.S.R.

It was announced Feb. 24 that Alexander Lavrishov had been named Ambassador from Soviet Union to Turkey to replace Vinogradov who has been absent since July 1946. Earlier, Turkish press published rumors (confirmed to Embassy by Foreign Office) Turkish Ambassador, Moscow, would be instructed return to Ankara on leave and remain indefinitely in view of prolonged absence of Soviet Ambassador from Turkey. (Airgram A-33, Feb. 5).

Lavrishov reported former Soviet Minister to Bulgaria and, more recently, Chief of Balkan Section, Soviet FonOff. Embassy informed he is specialist in underground revolutionary movements rather than career diplomat and that his chief mission in Bulgaria was laying groundwork for Communist coup.

Refugees

According to press, Rumanian Dimitri Fotescu, instructor Rumanian civil aviation school, escaped to Turkey recently by plane obtained from Russian authorities on pretext making training flight. (Airgram A-47, Feb. 14). Another instructor same school, named Podeloff, reported already in Turkey.

LA REPUBLIQUE,

Ankara, Turkey
February 28, 1948

- 3 -

LA REPUBLIQUE, Feb. 14, reports number refugees from Greece now in Turkey exceeds two thousand. Press reports Feb. 11 group of Turkish refugees numbering from fifteen to twenty succeeded in escaping to Istanbul from Greek rebel territory.

Press Feb. 3 reports arrival four Rumanian refugees and two stowaways from Rumania in Turkish boat S.S. NIL from Black Sea ports. No names given.

Satellites

Petre Inonescu, ex-Consul General, Rumania, Istanbul, who resigned result Paucar purge, departed for U.S. on Feb. 4. (Despatch No. 58, Feb. 7).

Remains deceased pilot and surviving pilot of Turkish plane incident in Bulgaria (despatch No. 89, Feb. 25) returned to Turkey. Turk Govt. in note demanded indemnity from Bulgarian Govt. for injured pilot and for family deceased pilot on basis first Bulgarian communiqué saying planes fired upon. Bulgarian Govt. now says planes were not shot down. Incident still under investigation by Turk authorities and findings will be made subject communiqué.

According MA report, Petar Vitip, Asst. Yugoslav Commercial Attaché, Ankara, is head their intelligence activities Turkey.

Confidential source indicates Bulgarian Legation Ankara has recommended Sofia special attention be given language training Bulgarian diplomatic representatives for service in Turkey. Report mentions there are no Bulgarian students in either Robert College or Galata Saray (French college), Istanbul, at present.

Counselor, Hungarian Legation, Ankara, stated Hungarian Govt. had instructed its employees contribute two percent their salaries to Markos "Govt.". (Despatch No. 64, Feb. 19).

Sentencing of two Bulgarian spies, Bogdan Nikoloff Hadji Panayotoff and Manio Dimof Nathceff, to thirty years imprisonment by Ankara Court of Cassation in secret trial reported. (Airgram A-46, Feb. 13).

Minorities

Embassy hears that Hellenic Club (ELLINIKI ENOSIS) in Istanbul, whose membership is said to be confined to Greek citizens, is pro-Communist and receives funds from Yugoslavia. Membership not

NUMEROUS

A-54
Ankara, Turkey
February 28, 1948

SECRET

- 4 -

numerous and should be distinguished from Greek minority long established in Turkey, who have Turkish citizenship and are generally non-Communist.

Miscellaneous

KUDRET, Feb. 28, published letter signed by seven persons who said they had submitted letters of resignation to Youth League of Turkey--a leftist youth organization in Ankara--but that their names were still being carried on membership list. Authors of letter said they were writing newspaper to disassociate themselves publicly from organization whose views and aims were repugnant to them.

WILSON

CC: American Embassy, Moscow
GTI Division

RHarrison:sao

SECRET

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AIRGRAM

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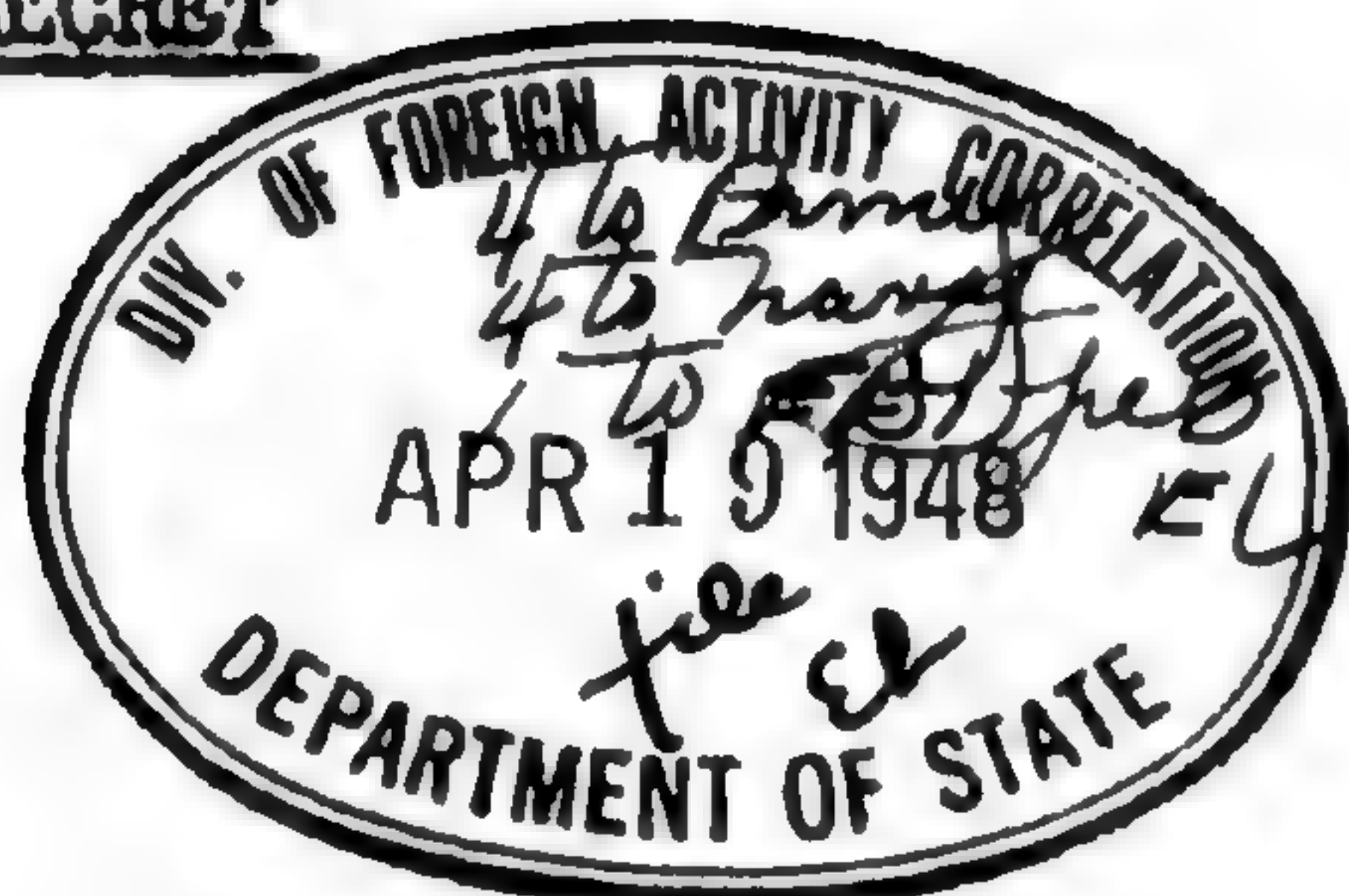
FROM 2348

Ankara

Dated: March 31, 1948

Mailed: April 6, 1948

Rec'd: April 15, 1948
2:13 p.m.



THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

A-83, March 31, 1948

Communist Activities - Turkey, March 1948.

Communist Radio Propaganda

861.2267 XR
Moscow Radio continues attacks on Aid Program and on Ankara Govt. in familiar terms. It professes friendliness for Turkish masses who it claims are opposed to policies of Ankara Govt. Says big Turkish army unnecessary because no one threatens Turkey. It defends Turkish communists as "leaders of democratic movement against reactionaries and American slavery".

Greek guerrillas' war is compared with Turkish fight against "monarchy and Sultans who betrayed the fatherland".

Sofia Radio says that in struggle for national independence Turkey received greatest help from USSR and that Bulgarian Turks will help their brothers in Turkey who are slaves of capitalists.

U. S. S. R.

Newly appointed Soviet Ambassador to Turkey, Alexander Lavrishev, has not yet arrived. It is rumored that he is awaiting return of Turkish Foreign Minister who is abroad.

On March 2, Soviet merchant vessel SOVIETSKAYA GAVAN

attempted

SECRET

APR 22 1948

SECRET FILE

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ACTION:FC
INFO:
DC/R
EUR/X
EUR
NEA
OCD
ICA

A-83, March 31, 1948
from Embassy, Ankara.

-2-

attempted passage of Bosphorus at night without pilot and was caught in protective net stretched across Black Sea entrance. Vessel had to be beached. Consulate General, Istanbul, reports this is second instance this year of Soviet vessel running into net as result of not taking on pilot to go through Straits. First instance was SS PSKOV on Feb. 19.

Satellites

Turkish Military Attaché and Asst. Military Attaché at Sofia were recalled at Bulgaria's request for "having engaged in activities beyond scope of their duties". In reprisal Turkey has caused recall of Bulgarian Military Attaché at Ankara.

According to VATAN'S investigations of Cominform activities in Turkey, Cominform is operating through diplomatic and consular officials of satellite countries and has set up strong network of propaganda and information; calls Yugoslav Consulate at Istanbul "Consulate of Three Mustafas" because of three members of staff who belong to Turkish minority in Yugoslavia. They are listed as Consul Mustafa Vilović, Vice Consul Mustafa Ildović and Asst. Commercial Attaché Mustafa Birkic. Other Yugoslavs named as active in Cominform work are K. Kopinic, Commercial Attaché, and Embassy Secretaries Edhat Muratbacevic and Sinan Kapitanovic. Peter Troufkine, Bulgar Press Attaché, Istanbul, also named as Cominform agent. He is said to keep careful watch over Consul Karaizoff who is suspected of pro-American leanings.

Refugees

Press reports flow of refugees from Northern Greece to Turkey at rate of five to ten daily. On March 19, arrival of forty-five refugees from Dodecanese reported and on March 23 arrival of some one hundred and eighty from Greek mainland reported. Refugees, who were not named, described how Greek guerrillas raided villages and forced youths into guerrilla service.

Unnamed Turkish girl reported to have arrived in Istanbul on March 19 in freighter from Constanta.

Internal

Far leftist Istanbul publication CEVEZE in issue of

March 11

A-83, March 31, 1948
from Embassy, Ankara.

March 11 attacked U. S. and Aid Program in several articles.

On March 17, thirty of fifty persons on secret trial in Istanbul Criminal Court for alleged Communist activities were released. Remaining twenty were retained in custody. Trial of all fifty will continue.

Three professors dismissed from Ankara University for alleged leftist tendencies have not been allowed to resume teaching, notwithstanding opinion in their favor rendered by Inter-University Council (Airgram A-54, Feb. 28). It is understood the professors are still drawing salaries and that they intend to continue fight for reinstatement.

Consul in Izmir reports three teachers in village of his district, whom he does not name, were dismissed on charges of disseminating leftist propaganda.

Miscellaneous

Consul Johnson, Izmir, reports security police taking special measures to prevent dock workers suspected of Communist tendencies from unloading vessels bringing American Aid material.

Showing of American film "For Whom the Bell Tolls" banned by Film Control Board on grounds that it "skillfully inspires leftist tendencies".

WILSON

CC: American Embassy, Moscow
GTI Division

BHarrison:sao

AIRGRAM



FROM

2747

Ankara

Dated: April 30, 1948

Mailed:

Rec'd: May 17, 2:20 p.m.

SECRET

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

WASHINGTON.

A-122, April 30, 1948.

Communist Activities - Turkey, April 1948.

Communist Radio Propaganda

Moscow Radio accuses U.S. of having designs to use Turkish military forces in Greece. In commenting on Foreign Minister Sadak's recent visit to Athens, Moscow Radio said that while Sadak and Tsaldaris conferred in Athens American generals were paying frequent visits to President Inonu and were meeting at Headquarters of the Turkish General Staff.

Belgrade Radio quotes Henry Wallace as attacking State Department for supporting Turkish "feudal chiefs" against aspirations of Armenians. Bulgar (Zagra) Radio makes appeal to Turkish workers to begin class struggle.

Iron Curtain Diplomats

New Soviet Ambassador Lavrichtchev arrived Ankara by plane April 3 and presented credentials April 16. He sent cordial notes of greeting to satellite, Scandinavian and Arab missions and curt notes to remainder of diplomatic corps. In his personal calls on Western chiefs of mission, however, he conducted himself in friendly manner.

Yugoslav Chargé d'Affaires Rafo Arneri is reported recalled to Belgrade. Embassy will be in charge of Selim Nusic, Counselor.

New Czechoslovak Chargé d'Affaires H. Klacko has been critical in conversation of Iron Curtain colleagues and indicated desire to be friendly with Western diplomats.

U.S. Govt

MAY 21 1948

SECRET

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U. S. Govt. source hears that one Popavramoff will be new Bulgarian Consul General in Istanbul. He is said to be lawyer, member of Communist Party, with no previous diplomatic experience. Vice Consul Dimitri Karagiosoff, acting Consul General, is expected to be recalled to Sofia.

George Perenyi Lukacs, Counselor of Hungarian Legation, is reported to have severed relations with the Legation and to be remaining in Turkey as refugee.

Bulgarian and Soviet Protests

ANF Another incident occurred between Turkey and Bulgaria (airgram A-83, March 31) when Turkish officer who had inadvertently strayed short distance across frontier into Bulgarian territory was arrested by Bulgarians who sent note of protest to Turks against violation of frontier. Soviet Foreign Office also protested through Turkish Embassy, Moscow, against twenty-eight "violations" of Soviet frontier by Turks in 1947 and continuing violations in 1948 without citing specific instances.

ANF Turkish Govt. has requested return of Turkish officer arrested by Bulgarians (Embtel 285, April 1).

Refugees

According to MA estimates, about 150 Balkan refugees have arrived in Istanbul during past year. They are predominantly Bulgarians who come by land and Rumanians who have come by air or sea. It is believed that there may be some Communist plants among them.

Among recent Rumanian arrivals reported was Nikole Cantecuzene who came as stowaway. He is brother of Prince Matei Chica-Cantecuzene who reached Turkey last May in stolen plane and is now considered leader and spokesman for Balkan political refugees in Turkey.

Soviet Army officer whose name was given as Severino Burgano landed on Turkish territory near Sinop in stolen plane, of which he was sole occupant, about April 20. MA is informed by Turk General Staff that refugee is of Spanish origin, a Communist who fled to Russia presumably after Spanish Civil War. He has been brought to Ankara for interrogation but so far results have not been divulged.

Internal

Trial has opened in First Criminal Court in Ankara against one Piyer Gazeryan, an Armenian, and Agop Tarakci, a Turkish national employed in local hotel. Gazeryan was charged with inscribing the

hammer

A-122, April 30, 1948
from Embassy, Ankara

SECRET

- 3 -

hammer and sickle on walls of French Embassy and with intending to blow up certain military installations at instigation of Soviet Press Attaché Alexis Issaev. Tarakei was charged with having introduced Gazeryan to Issaev. Gazeryan reported to have admitted these charges in deposition, saying that Issaev told him that Russia was protector of Armenians and offered him "important assignments". Gazeryan later said in court that deposition had been made under duress.

Adverting to anti-Communist student demonstrations in Ankara (airgram A-26, Jan. 31), Rector of Ankara University who was forced by mob to resign but whose resignation was not accepted has now tendered his resignation voluntarily. Three professors accused of having leftist tendencies who were dismissed (airgram A-54, Feb. 28) have not been allowed to resume teaching and it is reported they will be finally dismissed with pensions.

American Consulate, Izmir, reports discovery at Isparta of clandestine radio believed to be furnishing information to Moscow. Police are investigating.

Man whose name is not disclosed is reported by ULUS, April 3, to have been arrested for conducting Communist activities among laborers in Ankara.

New Armenian weekly published in Istanbul, DJARAKATT, has published articles critical of American policy and advocating understanding between East and West.

According to MA information, Communist agents in Syria and Irak have been attempting to incite Kurds to initiate hostile action against Turks.

WILSON

CC: American Embassy, Moscow
GFI Division

RHarrison:sac

SECRET

INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

AIRGRAM



FROM

2166

Ankara

Dated: June 1, 1948

Mailed: June 4, 1948

Rec'd: June 11, 10:15 A.M.

2

DW

ACTION:FC

INFO:

DC/R

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EUR/X

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CIA

SECRET

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

WASHINGTON.

A-171, June 1, 1948

Communist Activities - Turkey, May 1948.

Communist Radio Propaganda

Moscow Radio blames Turkey's current economic difficulties on American exploitation. Says U.S. has forbidden the sale of Turkish tobacco in Anglo-American zone of Germany to assure these markets for itself. It continues attack on Aid Program and says "American monopolist circles will squeeze from Turkey one billion dollars for one hundred million dollars given to her".

Ataturk's liberation of Turkey from foreign occupation is compared to betrayal of nation to American slavery by present Government. Says Turkish people cherish sacred memory of help given to Turkey by Russia in struggle for national independence.

Iron Curtain Diplomats

Petar Vitić, Asst. Commercial Attaché Yugoslav Embassy stationed in Istanbul, severed his official connection with Yugoslav Govt. about May 16 to avoid obeying summons to Belgrade (Embtel 412, May 29).

ANP According to U.S. Govt. source, Counselor of Bulgarian Legation Trayko Popoff is liason man with Soviet Embassy. Popoff poses sometimes as being non-Communist.

According to newspaper VATAN, one Mitar Tehetkovitch has recently been appointed "Chancellor of Yugoslav Embassy." VATAN reports that he is the Cominform representative and gives instructions to Embassy.

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JUN 24 1948

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A-171, June 1, 1948
from Embassy, Ankara

SECRET

- 2 -

to Embassy staff, especially "the three Mustafas" (airgram A-83, March 31, 1948). ANF

Alexei Fedotov, Second Secretary, and Vladimir Startsev, Attaché, have been added to the staff of the Soviet Embassy since the arrival of the new Ambassador.

Refugees

Rumanian refugee airplane landed on May 24 at Yesilkoy. It was reported that its occupants included a high army officer, a lieutenant and a former Rumanian diplomat. Their names have not been disclosed.

Group of eight refugees from Rumania were reported on May 16 to have reached Turkish shores in a rowboat. Group was reported to include officers of Rumanian army, engineers and technicians. No names were given.

Bulgarian military plane was reported to have made a forced landing at Yesilkoy on May 18, bringing a Bulgarian General Staff Colonel and four Bulgarian officers as refugees. No further identification.

VATAN on May 14 reported that during an Easter service in a small Greek orthodox church in Istanbul the Bulgarian Vice Consul Popyordanov attempted to take photographs of Bulgarian political refugees who attended the service. Some refugees tried to take his camera away from him and created a disturbance until the police intervened to restore order.

Internal

One Bahri Ucta was brought to trial in Ankara Penal Court on May 24 charged with making Communist propaganda. He was said to have defended Bulgarians for having shot down two Turkish planes (despatch No. 89, Feb. 25, 1948) and to have praised regime in U.S.S.R.

A man named Abdurrahman Ulner was reported to have been arrested in Malatya on April 14 on charge of Communist activities.

Penal court at Isparta is trying one Görgü Karamus, teacher of design at the Village Institute of Gonen, accused of Communist activities. He was alleged among other things to have expressed joy over the burning of the Ministry of Education last December and to have said that many other public buildings would be destroyed.

Consul

SECRET

A-171, June 1, 1948
from Embassy, Ankara

SECRET

- 3 -

Consul, Izmir, reports that a shoemaker called Muammer was arrested at Izmir on May 6 for engaging in Communist propaganda.

Press

Consulate General in Istanbul calls attention to two Armenian publications KARAKAYT and AYSOR, latter a weekly, which are following leftist line and are critical of U.S. Proprietor and managing editor of KARAKAYT are, respectively, Khatchik Amirian and Hagop Sivasliyan. Proprietor and editor of AYSOR is Avedis Aleksanian. According to Consulate General's information, these men are not considered ideological Communists by Turkish police and their publications have not so far been suppressed.

WILSON

CC: GTI Division

RHarrison:sae

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SECRET

INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH
AIRGRAM



FROM

800

Ankara

Dated: June 30, 1948

Mailed:

July 1, 1948

Rec'd: July 7, 11:30 a.m.

2

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SECRET

ACTION: FC

INFO:

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EUR/X

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THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

WASHINGTON.

A-205, June 30, 1948.

Communist Activities - Turkey, June 1948.

Communist Radio Propaganda

Moscow Radio continues its attacks on American aid. Its broadcast of June 26 said that Turkish taxpayers were paying the salaries of the American Aid Mission. "The People's Party spends millions to pay salaries of American missions in Turkey but refuses to help the starving Turkish peasants."

Other Moscow Radio broadcasts dwell upon ruinous character of American economic aid to Turkey saying that Americans are dumping useless goods on Turkey and refusing to buy Turkish tobacco, and so forth.

Baku Radio of June 15 quotes from a Wallace speech to discredit American military aid to Turkey.

Sofia Radio, in several broadcasts, has described the blissful and free life of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria under the present regime.

Iron Curtain Diplomats

M. Brkitich (Berkic) has been made Assistant Commercial Attaché to the Yugoslav Embassy at Ankara. It is assumed he is replacing Petar Vitić who recently severed connections with the Yugoslav Embassy (airgrams A-182, June 9 and A-193, June 17).

Blagoy Popjordanov, Bulgarian Consular official Istanbul (despatch No. 240, June 28), believed to be Cominform agent, left Istanbul by Soviet car for Sofia June 19. He was reported

867.00B/6-3048

SECRET
FILED
JUL 1 1948

HH

A-205, June 30, 1948
from Embassy, Ankara

SECRET

- 2 -

to have been recalled to Sofia as a result of his connections with Vitiç mentioned above(telegram No. 530, June 29). ANF

New Bulgarian Consul General Sava Popavranoff has arrived in Istanbul and assumed his duties. Vice Consul Dimitri K. Karagiosoff who has been acting as Consul General pending the arrival of Popavranoff is reported by a Turkish Govt. source to be showing signs of wishing to break with the Bulgarian Consulate.

Stoyan Kazandjiev, Second Secretary Bulgarian Legation Ankara, is reported by U.S. Govt. source to have been assigned job of penetrating American circles in Ankara by posing as pro-American and anti-Communist. No evidences of such activities have been reported, however.

Goradz Angueloff, Bulgarian Cultural Attaché in Istanbul, is reported to have been recalled as of June 1 to Sofia but has not yet left.

Pavel Erchov, Counselor of Soviet Embassy and Chargé d'Affaires until the arrival of the new Ambassador Lavrichtchev, left Ankara early in June by train via Erzurum for the USSR(telegram No. 473, June 14).

Valentin Kostilev recently assigned Ankara as First Secretary Soviet Embassy. Kostilev served in Ankara(telegram No. 493, June 18) during 1945 and 1946. He was considered intelligent and able.

Confidential Turk source informs MA that handling of Cominform funds in Turkey has been taken away from Yugoslav Embassy and entrusted to Bulgarian Legation.

Same source reports Bulgarian Minister Angueloff has instructed new Bulgarian Consul General, Istanbul, to exert pressure on Patriarch Maximos to resign at once.

Internal

One of the workmen arrested together with two accomplices in connection with the attempted sabotage at the Nazilli textile mills, Ali Kosemihaloglu(airgram A-184, June 11), is reported to be a native-born Turk who spent some years in Russia as a textile worker and married a Russian wife. Name of one of the accomplices is given as Hasan Imor. ANF

Ahmet Guler, law student at Ankara University, has been arrested on charge of making Communist propaganda.

Eight

SECRET

A-205, June 30, 1948
from Embassy, Ankara

SECRET

- 3 -

Eight veterinary students at the Agricultural Institute who were arrested on charges of conducting Communist propaganda among their fellow students have been jailed pending trial. Their names are Nesut Çuhacioglu, Nevzettin Yalçin, Orhan Gündüz, Hüseyin Pelat, Yusuf Öztürk, Kemal Akan, Arslan Dogudan and Mustafa Ecemis.

Newspaper HURRIYET of June 27 reports that textbooks printed in Bulgaria have been sent to the minority schools in Istanbul bearing the following titles: "The Bulgarian Nation", "The Bulgarian-Rumanian Agreement", "The Two Year Economic Plan" and "The Second Congress". Books were published in 1948 and are considered by HURRIYET to be an attempt by the Cominform to find a new method for spreading propaganda in Istanbul. The books were mailed directly to the institutions in question.

A People's Party "Committee on Extreme Rightist and Leftist Movements" has made a report which is believed to include a recommendation that Communist activities be regarded as espionage and tried before the military courts. The report is under consideration by the government.

WILSON

CC: American Embassy, Moscow
GTI Division

RHarrison:sae

SECRET



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AMERICAN EMBASSY

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ACTION

is assigned to



RESTRICTED

Ankara, Turkey, July 16, 1948

No. 280

VR 869.00
Subject: Sentencing of Fifty-six Defendants
on Trial for Communist Activities.

THE HONORABLE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
WASHINGTON.

SIR:

File
DIVISION OF GREEK, TURKISH
AND IRANIAN AFFAIRS
JUL 8 6 1948
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

NEA
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Army
Navy
Mar Force
CIA
With reference to the Embassy's airgram A-256, July 25, 1947, and previous correspondence, I have the honor to report that the trial of the fifty-six persons, members of alleged Communist-front organizations, which began on July 22, 1947, in the Martial Law Court of Istanbul and was later transferred to the Second Criminal Court after the lifting of martial law in the Istanbul district, ended July 14 with the acquittal of eleven defendants and the sentencing of the others to prison terms varying from five years to one year. The list of names and sentences, as published, is enclosed.

Dr. Şefik Hüsnü Deymer, who received the heaviest sentence, was President of the Turkish Socialist, Peasants and Workers Party which, together with the Turkish Socialist Party, the Union of Syndicates of Istanbul and the Workers Club of Istanbul, was dissolved on December 16, 1946, by order of the Martial Law Command in Istanbul (despatch No. 1295, December 20, 1946). He is considered to be the number one Turkish Communist (despatch No. 1408, February 7, 1947). It is surprising to note (in the absence of any knowledge of the record of the proceedings) that Esat Adil Müstecapoglu, President of the Turkish Socialist Party, was among those acquitted.

The trial was held in secret and the evidence has not been made public. According to the newspaper resumé of the verdict, however, Dr. Şefik Hüsnü Deymer was convicted of "having established a clandestine Communist party and having conspired to introduce into the country a Soviet regime". Other defendants receiving prison sentences were convicted of varying degrees of complicity in the above crime. The eleven who did not receive prison sentences were acquitted "for lack of evidence".

Respectfully yours,

For the Ambassador:

Warwick Perkins

Warwick Perkins
Counselor of Embassy

Enclosure: *att*

1/ as noted
CC: GTI Division
RHarrison:sac

RESTRICTED

107.008/7-1648

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JUL 26 1948

107.008/7-1648

RESTRICTED

Enclosure No. 1 to despatch No. 280, Ankara, July 16, 1948.
Subject: "Sentencing of Fifty-six Defendants on Trial for Communist Activities".

T R A N S L A T I O N(By Embassy)

The Court sentenced:

1. Dr. Şefik Hüsnü Deymer, President of the Turkish Socialist, Peasants and Workers Party, to five years imprisonment;
2. Ahmet Korucu, Hüsamettin Özdoğu and Nail Çakırhan to four years imprisonment;
3. Ragıp Ervardar, Süleyman Tahir, Celal Beneci, Hasan Erçin, Ali Ceylan, İsmail Korucu, Mustafa Özçelik, Mehmet Özdem, Faris Erkman, Aran Pehlivan, Menteke Ölcmen, İbiş Aydınlatan, Tahir Agra, Cenap Şahabettin Kivilcimli, Ahmet Titiz, Hayik Açıkgöz, Mustafa Erkavi, and Kerim Soygar to three years imprisonment;
4. İsmail Tanıkoglu to two years imprisonment;
5. Galip Sezik, Mehmet Çolu, Hakkı Demiray, Hazim Kuran, Hüseyin Demiroz, İhsan Kabacıoğlu, Bahri Ates, Nevzat Engin, Ahmet Çilgin, Momin Kürek, Hasan Civan, Ahmet Tezcan, Muharrem Bezin, Sabri Soygar, Osman Güzeyli, Bahar Semihyan, Hulusi Dosdoğru, Yusuf Baıkanlı, Lebn İller, Ferit Palmuk, Hadi Malkoç, and Jan İhmalyan to one year imprisonment.

The following were acquitted by the Court: İsmail Ceyhan, Hüseyin Avni Törker, Nubar Accuryan, Kiraç Akanoglu, İbrahim Topçuoglu, Osman Ulas, Mürat Erdebil, Hilmi Seyhan, Mustafa Börtüce, Hurriyet Ergintürk, and Esat Adil Müstecapoglu(President of the Turkish Socialist Party. (ULUS, July 15, 1948).

RESTRICTED

INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

AIRGRAM

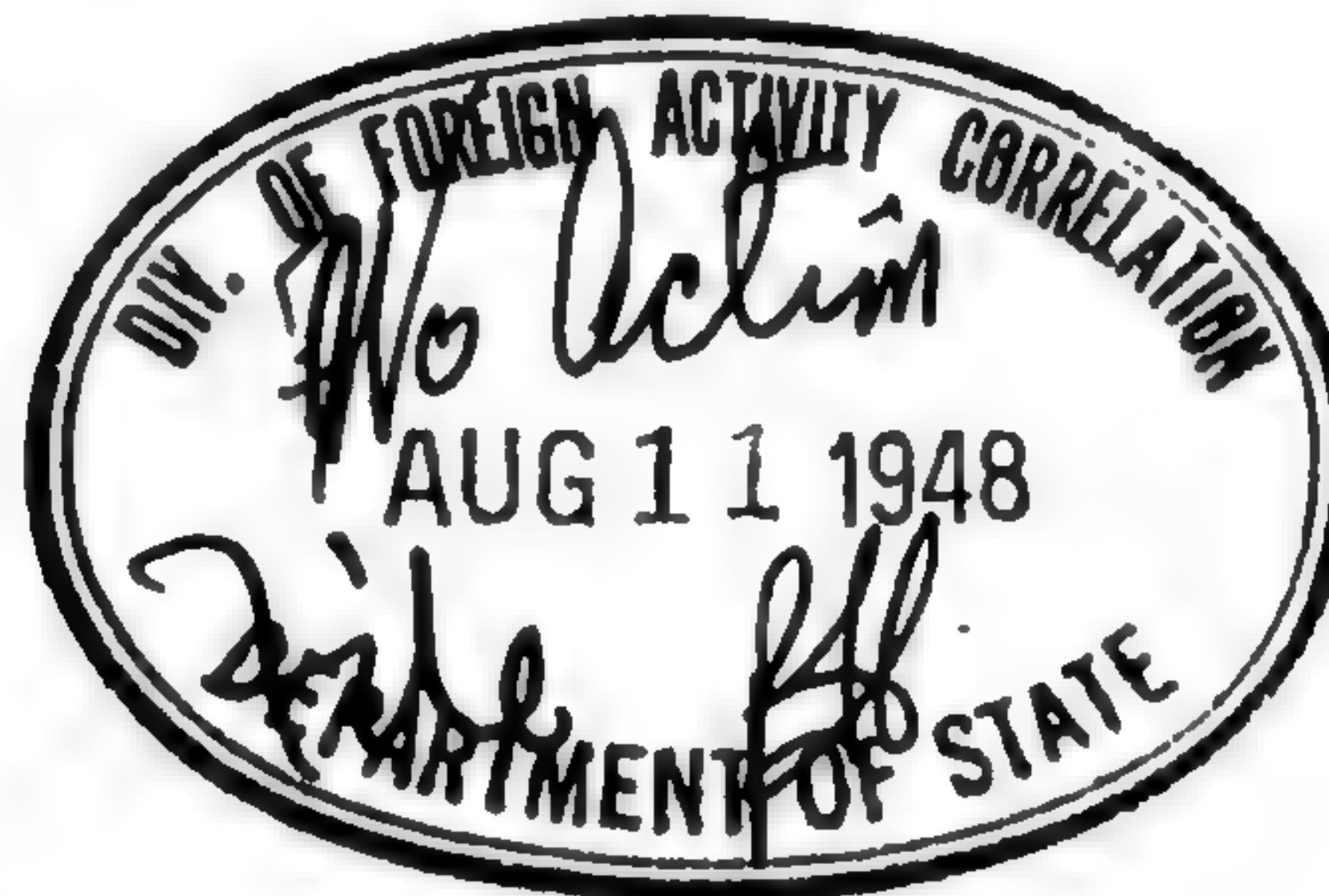
FROM 1319

Ankara

Dated: August 2, 1948

Mailed:

Rec'd: August 10, 12:05 p.m.



SECRET

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON.

A-240, August 2, 1948.

Communist Activities - Turkey, July 1948.

Communist Radio Propaganda

Moscow Radio in July made topical comments on the visit of a U.S. naval squadron to Istanbul (despatch No. 257, July 8) and on the signing of the ECA agreement between Turkey and the U.S. (despatch No. 264, July 13).

With regard to the first event, Moscow Radio dwelt on the cost of entertaining the Americans and hinted that the expenses might have to be borne by increasing the price of public utilities in Istanbul. "American Admirals, Generals and Army officers do as they please with the Turkish army and navy", the commentator added.

With regard to the ECA agreement, the commentator contended that the U.S. had forced Turkey to sign on the dotted line an agreement which would be ruinous to Turkish economy and fatal to Turkish independence.

Moscow Radio of July 22 commented on the visits of Under Secretary of the Army Draper and Mr. George McGhee of the State Department saying that Ankara feted "these masters" and that in the festivities American generals and Army officers outnumbered the Turks. The broadcast also accused the United States of making Ankara a center for its intrigues in the Near and Middle East against the elements of freedom.

Iron Curtain Diplomats

The Embassy hears from a Turkish source that Pavel Erchov,

formerly

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867.008/8-248

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DMR

AUG 16 1948

SECRET

from Embassy, Ankara

- 2 -

formerly Chargé d'Affaires at the Soviet Embassy at Ankara, has been named Soviet Minister to Israel and that Ion Magheru, former Counselor Rumanian Embassy at Ankara, has been named Rumanian Minister to Tehran.

Norwegian Minister, Mr. Krogh-Hansen, has informed an officer of the Embassy in conversation that he regards Soviet First Secretary Sergei Kiktev as a "very alert and dangerous fellow". The Norwegian Minister said that the Soviet Ambassador and Kiktev were demonstratively cordial to him.

Petar Vitić, ^{and (sc)} ex-Assistant Commercial Attaché of Yugoslav Embassy (airgram A-193, June 17), is still under secret interrogation by the Turkish authorities.

Stoyan Kazandjiev, Second Secretary Bulgarian Legation Ankara, who returned to Sofia about two weeks ago as courier, is reported by the newspaper SON TELEGRAF to have been detained at Sofia and his wife to have been summoned to Sofia from Ankara.

Alexei Issaev, Soviet Press Attaché at Ankara, has departed for Moscow presumably to assume other duties.

Refugees

A Bulgarian plane carrying twenty-one persons landed in Istanbul on June 30 after the plane had been seized in flight and the pilot and a member of the crew killed. Bulgaria requested extradition of the persons implicated in the killing under the terms of the Turkish-Bulgarian Extradition Convention of 1930. The Turkish Ministry of Justice has decided, however, that the crime was primarily political in motivation and that the accused will be tried in the Turkish courts as political refugees (despatch No. 268, July 14). The Turkish authorities have permitted the plane to be returned to Bulgaria by a crew sent from Sofia for that purpose. Seven passengers of the plane who were not implicated in the killing of the pilot and who elected to return to Bulgaria were allowed to depart by train on July 28. Their names were published as follows: Tedirka Kirlova Kotseva; Vasil Georgiev Zografov, lawyer; Atanas Dimitrov Natshev; Boyan Hristov Berbev, industrialist; Alya Andonov Stoychev, workman; Mrs. Olga Vasileva Zografova; and Chankov Bojeva Petkov.

Internal

The court rendered its verdict on July 14 on the fifty-six defendants charged with Communist activities who have been on trial since July 22, 1947. Eleven were acquitted and forty-five received

sentences

SECRET

A-240, August 2, 1948
from Embassy, Ankara

SECRET

- 3 -

sentences varying from one to five years imprisonment. Dr. Sefik Hüsnü Deymer, President of the Turkish Socialist, Peasants and Workers Party which was suppressed as a Communist-front organization on December 16, 1946, received a sentence of five years imprisonment (despatch No. 280, July 16, 1948).

The Embassy hears from a Turkish source that there are a number of fellow travellers among the students of Ankara University who hold regular meetings. It is believed that they are supplied with Communist literature by the Soviet Embassy or one of the satellite diplomatic missions in Ankara.

The Court of Cassation has referred the trial of Piyer Gaseryan and Agop Tarakçi, charged with Communist activities (airgram A-122, April 30) to the Military courts on the grounds that the crime of espionage was involved. *anf (FC)*

A bill was passed by the Grand National Assembly on July 6 formally abolishing the chairs held by the three leftist professors now undergoing trial for alleged Communist teaching (airgram A-122, April 30).

The Consul at Izmir reports that Samin Kocagoz, a young Turk known to have extreme leftist views, attempted to insert an anti-American article in the newspaper DEMOKRAT IZMIR but the article was deleted by the editor.

The trial of Ahmet Gular, a law student at Ankara University charged with Communist activities, is in progress at the Fourth Penal Court at Ankara (airgram A-205, June 30). *anf (FC)*

The police have searched the home of Nevki Aksit, Secretary General of the "Society of the Youth of Turkey" (Youth League of Turkey) and have seized certain documents including letters of resignation from some members of the organization. No arrests have been made. It will be recalled that last February seven ex-members of the Youth League published a letter protesting that their names were being carried on the organization's membership list as active members notwithstanding their resignations (airgram A-54, February 28). *anf (FC)*

Renzi Gürcan, owner and editor of the leftist newspaper GEVEZE is being tried on a charge of insulting the President. The case will be heard by the Second Penal Court of the First Instance in Ankara (airgram A-83, March 31). *anf (FC)*

WILSON

CC: American Embassy, Moscow
GTI Division

RHarrison:sae

SECRET

AIRGRAM

FROM

2555

Ankara

Dated: September 1, 1948

Mailed: Sept. 2, 1948

Rec'd: Sept. 15, 1948
2:27 p.m.

File Wgm
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FILE NO 3

DIVISION OF BIOGRAPHIC

SECRET INFORMATION

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

WASHINGTON.

A-283, September 1, 1948.

Communist Activities - Turkey, August 1948.

Communist Radio Propaganda

Moscow Radio continued to concentrate its attacks on American Aid and the Turkish-American Economic Cooperation Agreement. "The sole aim of the Turkish Government is to transform the whole of Asia Minor into a training field for the Americans", Moscow Radio said on August 13 in a broadcast addressed to the Kurdish minority.

Moscow Radio, August 16, plays up the criticism of the Turkish-American Economic Cooperation Agreement published by the newspaper YENI SABAH (despatch No. 308, August 16, 1948).

Iron Curtain Diplomats

On August 2 and August 9, two groups of Soviet functionaries and their families, totalling 41, departed from Turkey for the Soviet Union (airgram A-262, August 18, 1948). The larger part of both groups was made up of wives and minor children of school age.

The following newly-arrived employees of the Soviet Embassy are reported: Nina Makeikina, employed by Soviet Military Attaché; Anatoli Chuvilkin, accompanied by wife Alexandra and daughter Nina, one year old. His position in Embassy is unknown. Valentina Tarlashnikays, position in Embassy unknown.

Blagoy Popjordanov, Bulgarian Consular official at Istanbul who was reported to have returned to Sofia in a Soviet car last June, is now back in Istanbul. He is said to be loud in his praise of conditions in Bulgaria.

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867.008/9-148

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SEP 22 1948

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MA hears from Turkish source at Izmir that the Yugoslav merchant vessel TOPUSKO which called at Izmir on August 1 had pictures of Tito and Stalin side by side in the main cabin for the first time since the rift developed between Tito and the Cominform.

Embassy hears through U.S. Government source that Herman Klacko, Czechoslovak Chargé d'Affaires ad interim, is reported to have been appointed Czechoslovak Minister to Peru. Klacko is a bachelor, a frequenter of bars and makes efforts to consort with Americans, perhaps under instructions (airgram A-122, April 30, 1948).

MA hears that Bulgarian Second Secretary Stoyan Kazandjiev, recently recalled Sofia (Embtel 641, August 2), has been assigned to Bulgarian Foreign Office.

Refugees

According to newspaper reports, three members of the crew of the Bulgarian cargo vessel DOBROUDJA who also claimed to be its owners, refused to continue the voyage after reaching Istanbul, declaring they did not wish to return to Bulgaria. They have been interned by the Turkish authorities as refugees and the cargo vessel has been impounded pending a clarification of its status. It is expected that the Bulgarian Minister in Ankara will make representations in the case.

The trial of the Bulgarian refugees who seized a plane in order to flee to Turkey and killed the pilot enroute (airgram A-240, August 2) opened before the Second Criminal Court at Istanbul August 24. The Turkish Government declined to permit the extradition of the accused, on the grounds that the crime was a political one. According to newspaper despatches, the Bulgarian Government has sent two notes to the Turkish Government protesting the latter's decision in this case.

Internal

At the trial of the three leftist professors which is still in progress (airgram A-54, February 28, 1948), two letters were introduced by the defense from former pupils of the professors who are now studying in the United States, testifying to the good character of the professors and denying that they had been guilty of the charge of spreading Communist doctrines.

The trial of the eight students of the Veterinary School at

Ankara

A-283, September 1, 1948
from Embassy, Ankara

SECRET

- 3 -

Ankara accused of Communist activities began August 26 (airgram A-205, June 30, 1948). The students all denied the charges against them.

The trial of Ahmet Guler, a law student at Ankara University accused of making Communist propaganda (airgram A-240, August 2), continues. The court decided to release the defendant provisionally while further testimony is heard.

A youth named Musaffer Ersova was reported to have been caught carving a hammer and sickle on the trees in the public square in Mudanya. He was arrested for making Communist propaganda.

Remzi Gircan, owner of the leftist newspaper GEVEZE, was sentenced to six months imprisonment for publishing articles insulting the President (airgram A-240, August 2). The sentence was suspended in view of the fact that he had not been previously convicted of any offense.

Sevki Aksit, Secretary General of the Youth League of Turkey, and his four associates Melahat Turksay, Nuran Ertan, Mehmet Kemal Kursunoglu and Enver Gokce, have now been arrested on a charge of spreading Communist propaganda (airgram A-240, August 2). The Court of the First Instance concluded that the evidence indicated that these persons "had indulged in politics outside the aims of the Society and had made Communist propaganda". The accused have been jailed pending further investigations.

PERKINS

CC: American Embassy, Moscow
GTI Division

RHarrison:sas

SECRET

AIRGRAM

2572

FROM

Ankara

Dated: October 2, 1948

Mailed: Oct. 15, 1948
11:23 a.m.

Rec'd:

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WASHINGTON.

A-319, October 1, 1948.

Communist Activities - Turkey, September 1948.

Communist Radio Propaganda

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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OCT 13 1948

OFFICE OF LIBRARIES
AND INTELLIGENCE ACQUISITION

Moscow Radio, September 22-23, says number of American Senators, Generals, military and diplomatic personages arriving in Turkey is increasing. Senator Fulbright is accused of being instrumental in the Americanization of Turkish schools.

The dumping of American goods in Turkish markets is damaging the national industries. The Marshall Plan is throttling Turkish economy. The Turkish Government is planning to introduce new taxes and increase old ones.

Mr. Ferenc Nagy is described as having arrived in Istanbul in an American plane with an American passport and accompanied by American policemen. Nagy is called a notorious agent of foreign espionage services who has betrayed the Hungarian people (despatch No. 370, September 22).

Iron Curtain Diplomats

It is reported that the Soviet Ambassador Lavrishov and the Rumanian Ambassador Moisil have left Turkey, presumably for their respective countries, on leave. Moisil has been the subject of persistent press rumors to the effect that he would not return home but that he would seek asylum abroad (airgram A-316, September 30). Irresponsible press reports about Iron Curtain diplomats brought forth an official rebuke by the Turkish Government which is anxious to be correct and avoid provocations to Soviet group (despatch No. 381, September 30).

Other

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A-319, October 1, 1948
from Embassy, Ankara

SECRET

- 2 -

Other departures noted during September: Soviet Military Attaché Lt. Col. Phillip Gouchevrenko to USSR on leave; Yugoslav Commercial Attaché Josip Kopinac recalled Belgrade; Nedolche Penev Bulgarian Commercial Attaché, recalled Sofia; Polish Press Attaché Jaromir Ochodaszko to Poland on leave; Vice Consul Simeon Karanov resigned from Bulgarian Consulate General and obtained visa for U.S.; Rumanian Consul General at Istanbul Zambeti and Rumanian Press Attaché Ion Matei recall requested by the Turkish Government (despatch No. 381, September 30); Goran Angelov, a priest who is carried on the diplomatic list as Cultural Attaché of the Bulgarian Legation, is reported by a controlled source to have received what appears to be a new summons to return to Bulgaria (telegram No. 520, June 29, 1948). His departure has not been reported and it is thought possible that he may prefer to seek asylum in Turkey.

The fall of Yugoslavia from grace with the Cominform left the Rumanian and Bulgarian Consulates in Istanbul as chief centers of Cominform activities in Turkey (despatch No. 369, September 28). With the recall of Rumanian Consul General Zambeti and Press Attaché M. Sai, the principal burden would now seem to have devolved upon the Bulgarian Consul General Popjordanoff.

Refugees

According to press reports, a Bulgarian militiaman named A. don and a technician, Peter Terekof, have escaped to Turkey. The refugees were sent to Istanbul.

Madam Formatchiev, widow of a former doctor in the Bulgarian hospital in Istanbul, has asked the Turkish authorities for asylum for herself and her sixteen year old son, Nicholas, as political refugees. The newspaper ISTANBUL reports that all non-Communist patients are being put out of the Bulgarian hospital.

Four members of the crew of the Bulgarian motorboat CORIAN who had been admitted to the Bulgarian hospital on account of injuries resulting from a collision have, like their skipper, requested the Turkish authorities for asylum (airgram A-303, September 16).

The Bulgarians on trial for having killed members of the crew of the plane in which they escaped (despatch No. 268, July 14, 1948) have been released, with the exception of the principal defendant, Lt. Col. Strashimir Mikalekov. The trial is continuing.

Internal

The left-wing periodical GEVEZE has been publishing a series

of

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A-319, October 1, 1948
from Embassy, Ankara

SECRET

- 3 -

of anti-American articles in its issues of September 15, 22 and 29(despatch No. 364, September 21).

A new leftist weekly BAŞDAN has also been derogating the United States(despatch No. 328, August 26, 1948).

The trial of Sevki Aksit, Secretary General of the Turkish Youth League, and his associates Kemal Kurşunlunglu, Enver Gökce, Miss Melahat Türksal and Miss Nurten Erkan, for Communist propaganda is continuing. Miss Nurten Erkan was released provisionally but the court held that the evidence against the others was too strong to permit release(airgram A-283, September 1).

The Consul at Izmir reports that one Karamut, who was sentenced to eight months imprisonment for conducting Communist propaganda at Isparta, has been released as he has already been in custody for a longer period.

Cemal Kiran, accused of setting fire to the Sünerbank Textile Mill last June, has been sentenced to five years imprisonment.

The Bulgarian Consulate in Istanbul is accused again of making propaganda in the Bulgarian primary schools and other minority schools in Istanbul by disseminating Communist publications. The Ministry of National Education is making investigations(airgram A-205, June 30, 1948).

PERKINS

CC: American Embassy, Moscow
GTI Division

RHarrison:sae

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AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RECEIVED

NOV 9 1948

OFFICE OF LIBRARIES
AND INTELLIGENCE ACQUISITION

FROM

Ankara

Dated: November 1, 1948

Mailed: Nov. 4, 1948

Rec'd: Nov. 8 9:22 AM

SECRET

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THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

A-352, November 1, 1948.

Communist Activities - Turkey, October 1948.

Communist Radio Propaganda

Both Moscow Radio and Zagreb Radio broadcasts October 7 and 8 discoursed on the defective character of material furnished Turkey by the United States under the Aid Program, with specific reference to the critical article by Mr. Humbaraci, Turkish correspondent for the New York Times (despatch No. 401, October 1948).

In general, Moscow Radio has continued to preach on the text that Turkey is being exploited and enslaved by the United States as a consequence of Marshall Aid and the military Aid Program.

Baku Radio, October 27, repeats the charge that America wishes Hatay province returned to Syria and expects to be granted a naval base there. American expansionist circles are said to favor giving some Iranian territory to Turkey.

Conversation with Czechoslovak Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

The Czechoslovak Chargé d'Affaires, Herman Klacko, informed me (during his courtesy call) that he had been recalled to Prague and that he expected reassignment to a South American post as Consul General or Minister. He said since the promised reassignment had been made by Mr. Masaryk last January he did not feel sure it would now materialize, notwithstanding recent assurances from Prague. Klacko told me he had served in India for about nine years prior to coming to Ankara and that his visit to Prague last January was his only visit home during that period.

He has been replaced by Erik Brazda, Counsellor of Legation.

The Czechoslovak

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867.008/11-148

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NOV 15 1948

The Czechoslovak Legation d'affaires also informed me that the Bulgarian Minister was extremely nervous about the state of Turkish-Bulgarian relations in connection with the Turkish threat to sever diplomatic relations if the death sentence on a Turkish officer captured by the Bulgarians last March is carried out (telegram No. 733, October 21).

Don Sustain Diplomatic

The Soviet Ambassador, Lavashnev, after having been recalled to Moscow, returned to Ankara in time for the October 29 Turkish national celebration (telegram No. 792, October 27).

Polish Ambassador, Jan Dabko, has returned home on leave.

Radu Moisil, wife of the Rumanian Ambassador recently recalled to Bucharest, is reported to be in Ankara packing their personal effects. It is common, therefore, that Ambassador Moisil will not return.

Nicola Iordiceanu, a Rumanian student in Istanbul who has been intimately associated with Rumanian diplomatic and consular representatives in Turkey, has decided to throw in his lot with the Rumanian refugee colony (despatch No. 415, October 22).

In the memoirs of Karaolosov, former Bulgarian Vice Consul at Istanbul (telegram A 279, September 14), which are being currently published in the newspaper KURUYUT, Bulgarian Press Attaché Petar Trefkin, is described as a "fanatical Communist" who was born in Bessarabia of a Russian father.

The Embassy learned through the Consulate General in Istanbul that Helena Kuznetsova (despatch No. 240, June 28), employee of Bulgarian Consulate, is a former German agent converted to Communism in 1944 who came to Turkey in 1945. She was acting as secretary to the Commercial Attaché Minov until his recall to Sofia. She is said to be at sword's points with Bulgarian Minister Angelov, on whom she has reported, but is kept on in Turkey through the influence of "friends in Sofia". She is believed to have returned to Sofia but is expected back in Turkey at an early date.

The Consulate General also reports that the former Chancellor of the Yugoslav Consulate, Mitar Getkovic, who was recently dropped from the Consulate staff, has remained in good standing and has been given a Yugoslav passport. Contrary to earlier reports that he was fired because of lukewarmness to the regime,

it is

A-351, November 1, 1953 ~~SECRET~~
from Embassy, Ankara

It is noted that he was fired because he was pro-Cominform and
has been a passenger because agents are under strict
instructions to avoid anything like this.

The Embassy is informed by a confidential source that Captain
Kilmer, described as a former leader of Irish Loyalists (despatch
No. 76, September 23) and former captain of the SS ADELA,
was caught in the United States when his ship visited
New York Harbor. Kilmer was a friend of Horia Stefanescu, former
Assistant Captain of the Romanian vessel SS TRANSYLVANIA who was
arrested in Italy and is expected to be tried of this year for the
United States to join the war.

One of the most remarkable things still drugs on
the minds of the people is the fact that Judging by news-
papers and the radio, the evidence seems to be largely
hearsay.

According to TASSUR reports of some persons in Berlin
Gottfried, former commander of the village of Berlin and Shura
Told a person named as having been captured in the outbreak
of the German-Soviet war in Berlin in September. Two
other persons, the Oltman and the Oltman, were accused of
receiving the German property. TASSUR believes there is a recent
German report of a person in Berlin, named as one Bahget Akar.

Re: Mihalakov, Colonel

The Government in Moscow has asked the death penalty for Lt
Colonel Mihalakov, former Soviet military (Mihalakov), Bulgarian
officer who fled to Turkey after killing members of
the Red Army (despatch No. 10, July 14). Previous sentences were
asked for the other defendants associated with Colonel Mihalakov.
The Government Prosecutor ruled, however, that Mihalakov's
sentence should be commuted to life imprisonment in view of the circum-
stances in which the crime was committed. The court has adjourned
without a decision, however.

AD: WORTH

CC: American Embassy, Moscow
CPI Division

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INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

AIRGRAM

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ACTION: NEA
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DIVISION OF GREEK, TURKISH
AND IRANIAN AFFAIRS

file DEC 21 1948
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FROM 3440

Ankara

Dated: December 1, 1948

Mailed:

Rec'd: Dec. 9, 1948
Dec. 20, 1:11 p.m.

CONFIDENTIAL

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

A- 379, December 1, 1948

Communist Activities - Turkey, November 1948.

Communist Radio Propaganda

Moscow Radio on October 29, the anniversary of the founding of the Turkish Republic, launched a heavy attack against the Turkish Govt., charging it with departing from Ataturk's principles. "Prime Minister Hasan Saka cannot even move his little finger without consulting with his master, the American Ambassador", said Moscow Radio. It also dwelt on past Turkish-Soviet friendship during Ataturk's regime, whereas, "today, Turkish reactionaries are encouraging the people to fight the Soviet Union".

Eaku Radio, in Turkish November 13, turns its attention to the Turkish minority in Cyprus who, it says, are living under intolerable conditions. "Cypriots who expected to win their independence at the end of the war now see their island full of American soldiers."

Both Moscow and the satellite radios during the early days of November quoted from Wallace's campaign speeches.

Iron Curtain Diplomats

The Moscow Radio attack on Turkey of October 29 led to a strong retort by the semi-official ULUS on November 7, the anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. Apparently provoked by the ULUS editorial, the Soviet Ambassador at his reception the evening of November 7 made some very pointed remarks to the Turkish Prime Minister about the need for direct negotiations between Turkey and Russia without the interference of the United States (despatch No. 449, November 26, 1948).

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DEC 21 1948

CONFIDENTIAL

A-379, December 1, 1948 -2-
from Embassy, Ankara.

The Bulgarian Minister, Vamban Anguelov, has been non-nominally recalled from Ankara by his Government, apparently because of the unsatisfactory state of Bulgarian-Turkish relations (despatch No. 455, November 10, 1948).

The Bulgarian Consul General Popavranov and his Vice Consul Popjurdanov returned to Sofia during the early days of November (airmail A-362, November 12, 1948). The Consul General stated that he was returning for a brief leave and, as far as the Embassy is aware, he has not yet returned.

The Polish Ambassador, Jan Jurek, who has been "on leave" in Poland has returned to Ankara.

The Yugoslav Charge d'Affaires gave a reception on the evening of November 29, the Yugoslav national holiday, to which the guest list appeared to be very restricted. The Ambassador, one Ambassador and the service Attaches were invited from this Embassy.

The absence of the Soviet Ambassador from the reception was observed, the Soviet Embassy being represented by a First Secretary.

A large photo of Tito adorned one end of the central salon, whereas, at the other end, there was an empty space and a nail hole.

Trial of Bulgarian Officer

The trial of the Bulgarian officer and his associates who escaped by plane from Bulgaria after killing members of the crew has been resumed after recess (airmail A-352, November 1, 1948).

Refugees

According to press reports, 4 refugees from Bulgaria, not named, escaped across the Thracian border on November 10. They reported that the Bulgarian authorities were seizing the property and dispersing the families of refugees who succeeded in escaping.

Internal

The newspaper Vozdu reported November 13 that "a ring of Bulgarian spies" had been discovered at Edirne. Other press accounts stated that 4 persons had been arrested for espionage on behalf of Bulgaria, 3 of them being "Bulgarians of Turkish nationality". No names were given.

ISTANBUL, December 1

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

A-379, December 1, 1948 -3-
from Embassy, Ankara.

ISTANBUL, December 1, reports that 6 persons are standing trial by the Penal Court of Edirne, charged with spreading Communist propaganda. No names are given and it is not clear whether the 4 alleged members of a Bulgarian spy ring are included among these defendants.

HA has been told by an official Turkish source that the seizure of Bulgarian spies in Edirne was by way of retaliation for the detention of the Turkish officer, Lt. Mustafa Gecir (despatch 455, November 30).

The Consul in Izmir reports that rising living costs and heavy taxation are giving ammunition to Communist agitators among factory workers in his district.

He further reports that the leftist writer, Nevat Tahir, has been questioned by the security police for allegedly spreading Communist propaganda but was released. Hacı Sadullah, another leftist writer in Izmir, is reported to have told a group of students that in three years the workers will be the masters in Turkey.

The leftist Istanbul publication IZMIR PAŞA in its issue of November 11, published an article implying that the Americans were exploiting Turkey economically.

The leftist periodical BAKDAN, (despatch No. 40, October 12, 1948), in its issue of November 23, attacks the United States in a lengthy article. The action of the Congressional committee to investigate un-American activities is held up as an example of fanatical intolerance in the United States, which is being emulated by Turkey.

The trial of Kenan Öner for libelling Hasan Ali Fazel, former Minister of Education, by accusing the latter of protecting Communists in the Turkish schools, has finally ended with the acquittal of Kenan Öner by the Court of Cassation following appeal. The Court held that the evidence proved that Fazel had in fact given protection to Communists while Minister of Education (despatch No. 1933, November 22, 1947).

The trial against the students of the Veterinary School at Ankara (airgram A-205, June 30, 1948) accused of Communist propaganda, continues. The evidence reported by the press is hearsay of a

ludicrous kind.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

A-379, December 1, 1948 -4-
from Embassy, Ankara.

ludicrous kind. For instance, a witness charges one of the students with being a Communist because he does not like Turkish music. Another witness accused a defendant of being a Communist because he had been seen reading Tolstoy's "War and Peace".

An officer of the Embassy was informed by a representative of the Turker Bank that 4 employees had recently been discharged from the bank's paper mill at Izmit for spreading Communist propaganda. The bank's representative added, however, that the mill had a competent organization to detect and ferret out Communist agitators.

END/NORTH

RHarrison:sae:jm

CC: Moscow
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CONFIDENTIAL

INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

AIRGRAM

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JAN 24 1949

OFFICE OF LIAISONS

AND INTELLIGENCE ACQUISITION.

CONFIDENTIAL

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

A-1, January 3, 1949.

Communist Activities - Turkey, December 1948.

Communist Radio Propaganda

Soviet-controlled Turkish language broadcasts during December divided their attention largely between the U.S. and minorities in Turkey. Free Azerbaijan Radio, Dec. 2, on the first theme, said: "In World War II, the U.S. sent supplies to the front in order to further her own imperialistic objectives. American monopolists made a profit of 52 billion dollars. On the other hand, the Soviet Union gave everything she possessed to the war effort and won a decisive victory against the German invaders.

"The U. S. is still struggling to further imperialistic objectives. The outstanding example is the Marshall Plan."

On the second theme, Free Azerbaijan Radio, Dec. 9, broadcast: "Turkish, Iraqi and Iranian statesmen are closely cooperating to check Kurdish efforts towards independence and freedom....The Kurds will never forget the crimes committed against them by the Turks in Eastern Anatolia....Turkish statesmen, who work solely under the direction of the Americans, have acted ruthlessly toward the intellectual university men who realize how dangerous it is to have American capitalism in the country."

Old Zagora (Bulgaria), Dec. 9, observes: "Turkish tourists arriving from Russia visited Bulgaria's industrial cities and were much pleased by the hospitality shown them by the Turkish group of the Fatherland Front....Bloody spies sent to Bulgaria by international reactionaries and by Turkey and Greece tried to make the Bulgarian Turks rise against the Fatherland Front."

FROM

3797

Ankara

Dated: January 3, 1949

Mailed:

Jan. 7, 1949

Rec'd:

Jan. 19, 10:18 a.m.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

RECEIVED

JAN 24 1949

DIVISION OF BIOGRAPHIC

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Asst. January 3, 1949
from Embassy, Ankara

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

Ivan Gurnak in Diplomatic

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21 b
[The Hungarian Minister in Ankara, Georges Gulacsy, requested asylum of the Turkish authorities in order to avoid obeying a summons to return to Budapest (1301 892, Dec. 21, 1948). The Hungarian Legation in a note dated Dec. 23 informed the diplomatic corps that Gulacsy "had been relieved of his duties" and that Jean Radvanyi, Attaché, had assumed charge. The Embassy is informed by official Turkish source that Radvanyi, who has been carried on the diplomatic list as Attaché, is a fanatical Communist and is an agent for the Soviet Union. He is said to be Jewish.]

An Asst. Military Attaché to this Embassy interviewed Madame Gulacsy at the invitation of the Turkish security police. He found her uncommunicative and reserved. She merely said that she and her husband had decided against returning to Budapest and that they had an Italian visa and planned to go to Italy after an indefinite stay in Istanbul. The Asst. Military Attaché received the impression that the Gulacsys were not interested in imparting information if, indeed, they had any useful information to disclose.]

The newspaper CUMHURİYET, Jan. 2, raised the question as to whether Gulacsy might not be playing a double role and indicated that Gulacsy intended to return to Hungary after all. The Embassy has obtained no confirmation of this theory, however.

K
21 b
[CENE SABAH, Jan. 2, reports that one Viktor Peterfy, a Communist, will succeed Gulacsy as Hungarian Minister to Turkey. According to this report, Peterfy has won the confidence of the Soviet chiefs but that it is not known whether the Soviet Ambassador, Lavrishchev, in Ankara will approve his appointment. The paper adds that Lavrishchev has been authorized by Moscow to pass on the appointments of satellite diplomatic representatives in Turkey.]

The Embassy learns from the Consulate General in Istanbul that Czech Vice Consul Frantisek Hyncik has defected and seeks political refuge. Hyncik is reported to be the brother-in-law of Ernst Heydrick, former Secretary General of the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs who is believed to have escaped into the American zone in Germany. Hyncik received an order recalling him to Prague, which caused him to decide to sever his connections with the Czech Consulate. Hyncik is past 50 years old and has apparently never occupied a position of any importance. He is not believed to be in possession of any information of value.

The former Czech Chargé d'Affaires, Herman Klacko, who departed from Ankara last October presumably to return to Czechoslovakia

(airgram)

CONFIDENTIAL

A-1, January 3, 1949
From Embassy, Ankara

CONFIDENTIAL

(a report A-35, Nov. 1, 1948), is reported by the press to be still in Istanbul. The Czech Legation has informed an officer of the Embassy, however, that Klcko is back in Prague.

On Dec. 12, CUMHURİYET reported that 5 officials of the Yugoslav Embassy and Consulate left Istanbul for Belgrade by train. Investigation by the Consulate General revealed that 2 Yugoslav couriers coming from Cairo took the train for Belgrade and were seen off at the railway station by various Yugoslav officials, which gave rise to the above report.

According to press reports, Bulgarian Consul General Popavancov in Istanbul has been made Counselor of the Bulgarian Legation in Ankara. The Department will recall that Popavancov returned to Sofia in November on leave of absence (airgram A-62, Dec. 12, 1948); he will, as Consul General in Istanbul will arrive in a few days; the arrival of the new Bulgarian Minister, Mr. Medinev is also expected shortly.

A new member of the Soviet Embassy staff, Mr. K. Markov, described as Abtshé, has been presented by the Soviet Ambassador. Nothing has been learned yet of Mr. Markov's position.

Refugees

The Embassy is informed that there are at present some 2,000 refugees from Iron Curtain countries gathered together in Istanbul. A relief organization has been formed among them, which receives support from the IRO, the International Red Cross and the Red Crosses, to take care of needy cases.

One of the Bulgarian refugees was quoted by the newspaper KUMHURİYET of Jan. 4 as saying that the Communists have killed 200,000 people in Bulgaria since they came to power--50,000 of which belong to the Peasant's Party. On orders of the Soviet police, according to this account, the Bulgarian Govt. is pursuing a policy of exterminating the middle class, intellectuals and prosperous peasants.

Internal

On Dec. 10, according to press reports, a group of Turkish nationals suspected of operating as spies for the Bulgarians at Edirne, near the Thracian frontier, were found guilty of making Communist propaganda and received sentences of one year imprisonment. Their names were given as: Mihail, headmaster of the local Bulgarian school; Filip Ozkuse and Gogi Ozkuse, bakers; Vasil Bijagolli, baker, Gorgi Micaikoff, kavase, and one Riza.

The Consul

CONFIDENTIAL

A-1, January 3, 1949
from Embassy, Ankara

CONFIDENTIAL

- 4 -

The Consul at Izmir reports that Ali Koseminhaloglu, a technician trained in Russia, and Hasan Iner, a workman, both employed at the Nazilli Textile Mills, have been arrested for possessing a radio transmitting set and for disseminating Communist propaganda. They are being tried in a closed session by the Aydin Criminal Court.

The leftist periodicals BASMAN of Dec. 28 and HARKO PASI of Dec. 31 have been removed from the news-stands by order of the Public Prosecutor. In the case of BASMAN, the measure was prompted by an article which proclaimed that the purpose of the journal is "to spread Marxist culture among the masses". The Public Prosecutor's action against HARKO PASI is believed to have been prompted by a front page article entitled "HARKO PASI's Christmas Message to a Majestic Person" which was a thinly veiled attack on President Inonu.

WADSWORTH

CC: CII Division
American Embassy, Moscow

Rharrison:sae

INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

AIRGRAM

FROM 2251

Ankara

Dated: February 1, 1949

Mailed: Feb 4, 1949

Rec'd: Feb 11, 1949, 1:21 PM

DIVISION OF GREEK, TURKISH
AND IRANIAN AFFAIRS

FEB 14 1949

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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CONFIDENTIAL

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

A-43, February 1, 1949.

Communist Activities - Turkey, January 1949

Communist Radio Propaganda

Moscow Radio continues to harp on Turkey's economic difficulties which it claims result from American Aid. Commenting on the newly formed Gunaltay Cabinet, it observes: "The new Govt. is acting in obedience to the American monopolists.... The impasse in which Turkey finds itself must be attributed principally to the fact that the nation has been converted into an estate of the American monopolists.... American goods dumped on the country have led to confusion and unemployment.... All kinds of taxes are being levied."

Baku Radio in Turkish, Jan. 20, asserts that while countries receiving Marshall aid have been reduced to slavery, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Albania "which have not received any aid from the U.S. are on the point of economic recovery".

Iron Curtain Diplomats

Rumania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria have appointed new Chiefs of Mission to Turkey. The Turkish Foreign Office has provided the Embassy in confidence with the following data on each:

Dimitru Olteanu, Rumanian Ambassador to Turkey. Born at Tulca in 1905. Law graduate. Has been Governor of Tulca and Secretary General in the Ministry of Justice. Fell prisoner to the Russians during army service in the war and, since he was a Communist, was admitted as Captain into the "Tudor Vladimirescu" Rumanian Units set up there, and returned to Rumania with the Soviet armies. Practiced law for a time. Deputy at present.

Yordan
PERMANENT RECORD COPY.—This copy must be returned to DC/R central files with notation of action taken.

CONFIDENTIAL

867.00B/2-149

FEB 16 1949

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HH

Yordan Nedialkov Çobanov, Bulgarian Minister to Turkey. Born at Razgat on September 15, 1905, and studied law in Switzerland. Lawyer since 1936. Fought as officer in the War of Independence against Germany. Became Deputy in the 26th term of the National Assembly. At present Presidium Secretary in National Assembly. Married; two children.

Ljubomir Radovanović, Yugoslav Ambassador to Turkey. Born in Niš on July 18, 1894. Began to practice law after graduation from Faculty of Law. At present Vice President of Belgrade Bar. Attended second and third meetings of United Nations General Assembly as member of the Yugoslav delegation.

The two satellite diplomatic missions still headed by *Chargés d'Affaires* are Czechoslovakia and Hungary. The former Hungarian Minister, Georges Gulacsy, who resigned his post recently in order to avoid obeying a summons to Budapest (airgram A-1, Jan. 3), is still in Istanbul with his wife.

The newspaper CUMHURİYET, Jan. 29, reported that "two Hungarian inspectors passing themselves off as couriers" came to Istanbul from Budapest to interview Gulacsy. The paper added that, notwithstanding the pressure put on Gulacsy, the latter still declined to return to Hungary. He is expected to leave shortly for Italy and will eventually settle in Chilo, according to CUMHURİYET.

Miscellaneous changes: Stanislas Korwin-Pawłowski, First Secretary of the Polish Embassy in Ankara, has been replaced by Jaromir Ochędusko, formerly Press Attaché; Commandant Victor Mezulan, Asst. Military Attaché of Yugoslav Embassy, took official leave of Ankara Jan. 31; Petr Petrov, new Counselor of the Soviet Embassy, was presented on Jan. 29.

Turkish-Bulgarian Relations

Turkish efforts to persuade the Bulgarians to return 2 Turkish soldiers who have been detained in Bulgaria since they, apparently inadvertently, crossed the frontier last Dec. have so far failed. The Bulgarians have also declined so far to release the Turkish officer who has been detained since last March and who is under a suspended death sentence. This situation continues to place a heavy strain on Turkish-Bulgarian relations. The Turkish Minister to Sofia, Sefkati İstinyeli, is at present in Ankara on what is described as 2 weeks leave.

The

A-43, February 1, 1949
from Embassy, Ankara

CONFIDENTIAL

- 3 -

The newspaper VAPAN reports the arrest at Edirne of 2 Turks of Bulgarian origin called Dimitri Betedjeli and Achmed Cafer who are suspected of having been engaged in smuggling persons and information from Turkey into Bulgaria. The individuals in question are reported to maintain close contact with certain Bulgarian elements in Istanbul and to have been associated with Ali Ertekin, who is at present being held for the murder of Sabbattin Ali, a leftist Turkish journalist whom Ertekin was supposed to have been helping escape to Bulgaria. According to press reports, the police believe they are on the trail of an important spy ring.

The Consulate General in Istanbul reports that it has learned that 3 young students and 1 school teacher, refugees from Bulgaria, crossed the Turkish border on Jan. 7. An attempt is being made by appropriate representatives of the U.S. Govt. to interview these persons.

Czechoslovak Airlines

The Embassy learns from a reliable source that Soviet couriers who travel to Turkey by air invariably use Czechoslovak planes and are always met at the Istanbul airport by a member of the Soviet Consulate in Istanbul.

New Russian Emigration Policy Toward Israel

The Embassy also hears from an official Turkish source that information has been received to the effect that Russia is stopping the flow of Jews from Russian-controlled territory to Israel.

Internal

Leftist periodical BAŞDAN, in its issues of Jan. 4 and 11, respectively, published derogatory articles about the U.S. and about American Aid. The Public Prosecutor in Istanbul has now brought Penal action against the editors of the BAŞDAN (Rifat Ilgaz and H. S. Briskent) for its Dec. 28 edition which asserted that the paper's mission was to spread "Marxist culture" to the masses.

One Remzi Gürcan, the proprietor of another leftist periodical GAYAZEK which has ceased to appear, was fined on Jan. 14 for a defamatory article appearing in the Sept. 29, 1948, issue of the journal regarding a fight in Izmir between a Turkish taxi driver and an American sailor which resulted in the latter's death (airgram A-335, Oct. 14, 1948).

Mehmet

CONFIDENTIAL

A-43, February 1, 1949
from Embassy, Ankara

CONFIDENTIAL

- 4 -

Mehmet Ali Aybar, proprietor of the leftist publication ZINCIRLI HURRIYET, has been sentenced to 4 months in prison for libelling President Inonu.

Piyer Gazeryan has been sentenced to 6 years imprisonment and Agop Tarakci to 8 years and 9 months on the charge of spreading Communist propaganda and attempting sabotage. They were tried by military court (airgram A-130, May 7, 1948).

The Criminal Court at Aydin sentenced Ali Kosemihaloglu to 1 year and 4 months in prison for making Communist propaganda and for possessing a clandestine wireless transmitting set. Gaili Hasan Imer was sentenced to 1 year and 8 months for attempting to blow up the Nazilli municipal gas plant. Both individuals were formerly employed in the Govt.-operated Nazilli textile factory (airgram A-1, Jan. 3).

WADSWORTH

CC: GTI Division
Embassies: Moscow, Belgrade
Legations: Bucharest, Budapest, Sofia

File No. 350.21

EHarrison:sae

CONFIDENTIAL

INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

2583

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ACTION: NEA

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CONFIDENTIAL

DIVISION OF GREEK, TURKISH
AND IRANIAN AFFAIRS

MAR 14 1949

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

From: American Embassy
Ankara, Turkey

Date: March 1, 1949

Mailed: March 4, 1949

Rec'd: March 12, 1949
4:07 PM.

The Secretary of State

Washington

A-67, March 1, 1949.

Communist Activities - Turkey, February 1949.

Communist Radio Propaganda Directed at Turkey

Communist-controlled radio outlets continue to work on the Kurdish minority. Free Azerbaijan Radio, February 16, broadcasting in Kurdish, said "The Americans are setting pan-turkish ambitions aflame....The Anglo-American imperialists are putting free nations in chains. Having put the Near East and Middle East in bondage, the Americans are now after Afghanistan....The Soviet Union which is defending nations under the yoke of tyranny will not be frightened by the Anglo-Americans."

Baku Radio, February 13, says that although the Anglo-Americans claim to be defenders of the peace, they are endeavoring to set up all kinds of aggressive political and military blocs. The refusal of the American ruling class to conclude a peace pact with the Soviet Union is due to the fact that they are busy preparing aggressive pacts.

Moscow Radio, February 23, discourses on "armament competition in the Marshallized world". It continues, "Military expenses in Turkey and other Anglo-American satellites are increasing from day to day. Who is behind this armament race, and in whose interest is it taking place, and what effect will it have on the economy of the workers and people?"

Belgrade Radio, February 21, accused the American imperialists of instructing the Foreign Ministers of Marshall Plan governments regarding the materialization of aggressive plans rather than the coordination of economic plans.

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867.00B/3-149

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MAR 15 1949

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A-67, American Embassy,
Ankara, March 1, 1949

- 2 -

Old Magra (Bulgaria), February 11, criticizes failure on the part of the American imperialists to accept Stalin's proposal for world peace proves that they are war mongers.

Iron Curtain Diplomats

The Embassy is reliably informed that the Soviet Ambassador, Zayrichtchev, and his Counselor, Petrov, have made a point of maintaining friendly relations with the Italian Ambassador, Prunas, and have questioned him closely regarding the possible extension of the Atlantic Pact to Mediterranean countries. According to a high Foreign Office source, Ambassador Prunas has been embarrassed by the attentions he has been receiving from the Soviet Embassy, and at a recent Soviet function Prunas rudely rebuffed the Soviet Ambassador.

The new Rumanian Ambassador to Turkey, Dimitru Citeanu, when paying his protocol call on the Austrian Minister, also questioned the latter about the implications of the Atlantic Pact, indicating that this was a matter causing anxiety to the Soviet Bloc.

The Embassy has reason to believe that one of the two Soviet Counselors of Embassy, Vassili Leliev, is the same Leliev who was former Chief of the Consular Section of the Soviet Foreign Office, and that he is the NKVD representative in Ankara. The second Counselor, Peter Petrov, is apparently a political officer.

The press reports the arrival of a new Czech Commercial attaché called Hans Hermann. He has not yet been presented to the Diplomatic Corps.

Turkish-Bulgarian Relations

The Bulgarians have finally returned to Turkey the two Turkish soldiers who have been detained in Bulgaria since last December. They have declined so far to release the Turkish officer whom they have held since last March.

Yordan Chobanov, the new Bulgarian Minister to Turkey, was reported by KUBRIT, February 25, to have stated to its correspondent: "The two Turkish soldiers who entered Bulgarian territory have been returned. As for the officer, negotiations are in progress between the two countries concerning him. By returning the two soldiers our government has shown its good

will

A-67, American Embassy, - 3
Ankara, March 1, 1949

will and I hope the Turkish public will appreciate it. Misunderstandings between the two countries can be discussed in a friendly way and settled provided there is good will."

The Turkish Minister to Sofia, Bekkati Istinyeli, who has been on leave in Turkey for some weeks, told the press prior to his departure on February 28 for Sofia that it was necessary to try to prevent the repetition of frontier incidents between the two countries.

"We are taking the necessary steps to obtain the release of our officer detained at Sofia", the Minister added, "and we hope this will take place soon."

The Minister was also quoted as saying somewhat ambiguously that the Turkish minority in Bulgaria received the same treatment as other inhabitants of the country.

Internal

VATAN reports that a Yugoslav club in Istanbul called the Yugoslavenska Sloga "which was established years ago with non-political aims, has been gradually turned into a communist organization since Tito came to power. Yugoslav officials are forcing the Yugoslavs in Istanbul to attend communist lectures given every evening in the club under threat of depriving them of their citizenship". The "Club" is controlled, according to VATAN, by the Yugoslav Consul, Mustafa Millovitch (one of the "Three Mustafas", A-83, March 21, 1948), and the Commercial Attaché, Kopinitch.

VATAN observes that, although communist organizations and communist propaganda are forbidden by Turkish law, this Club is in fact a communist organization which carries on communist propaganda.

The newspaper TAN, reporting on the same "Club", says that an official of the Club, Josif Dobanovitch, an employee of British European Airways, obtains information about arriving and departing passengers. A member of the Administrative Board of the Club, according to TAN, is a shipping agent named Babkovitch who represents the Stevenson Shipping Line (American).

The official ANATOLIAN AGENCE, February 28, reports that a fishing boat belonging to the village of Sarp, near the Soviet Black Sea border, was seized offshore by a Soviet motor boat

which

CONFIDENTIAL

1077, Montreal, Quebec,
March 1, 1977

1077

which took place on March 1, 1977, in the village of ...
The Ministry of the Interior is investigating
the incident.

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CONFIDENTIAL

INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

AIRGRAM

6004

From: American Embassy
Ankara, Turkey

Date of Mailing: May 22, 1949

Received: May 31, 1949 11:00

CONFIDENTIAL

Secretary of State,

Washington.

A-188, May 19, 1949.

Communist Activities -- Turkey.

DIVISION OF GREEK, TURKISH
AND IRANIAN AFFAIRS

1949

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Communist Radi. Propaganda Directed at Turkey

There has been no material change during the course of the present year in the propaganda line followed in the broadcast directed at Turkey by the Soviet radio stations in the Turkish and Kurdish languages. The principal themes of this propaganda are:

1. U.S. Economic Exploitation of Turkey - American "monopolists" are reducing Turkey to a colonial status--an economically dependent source of raw materials. The Marshall Plan is a scheme for dumping American goods in Turkey and results in the bankruptcy of Turkish firms, inflation, and unemployment. The Turkish reactionary Government has sold out to the "monopolists". The United States is shutting Turkey out of her traditional European market.

2. U.S. Violation of Turkey's Independence - The presence of United States soldiers and bases in Turkey shows that Turkey is becoming a slave state--a province in the American empire. United States and Turkish reactionaries are stamping out all liberty in Turkey.

3. U.S. Warmongering - The United States is preparing for another war. Military Aid to Greece and Turkey and the Atlantic Pact show her aggressive designs. The United States "monopolists" are encouraging an armament from which they profit. The arms given to Turkey are all obsolete.

4. Kurdish Separatism - Russia is the champion of Kurdish independence. The United States and Turkish reactionaries stand for the enslavement of the Kurds. The Americans want bases against

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1949

General Meeting in Istanbul

Further investigation has shown that there is little or no basis for the report of the discovery of a Communist Party in the United States which appeared in the newspaper "The New York Times" in the Embassy's issue of April 1, 1944. The persons mentioned, Hsien Kwei and Kwei Kwei, have previously been reported of Communist activity and were arrested on 10/1/44. No recent evidence against them has been received. The other persons allegedly implicated in the "Communist Party" are also listed.

Productivity & Quality Line Probe

[illegible]

The principal far left weekly now appearing is the USA, which came to life again, after an interval of about six months, in 1934. Its proprietor-editor, Dr. Kemal Gurecan, was arrested in connection with court action on a charge of incitement to violence.

Mr. Hall has estimated that CIVIL had a circulation of 1,000 to 3,000 copies; this may be somewhat larger at present because of the appearance of the INK paper. The paper is read mostly by the working class; it is often seen in the hands of small vendors; it lacks the wit of the NERKE paper. Circulation is largely confined to Istanbul. News vendors in Anatolia do attempt to distribute the paper run into a great many difficulties and the paper is sold unprofitably.

1415 12TH

File No. 350.25

Infertility Clinic

00: 111 Division

1. Introduction

Locations: Bucharest, Bucharest, Sofia

CONFIDENTIAL

INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

AIRGRAM

From: American Embassy
Ankara, Turkey 4760

Date of Mailing: July 17, 1949

Received: July 25, 1949, 10:20

CONFIDENTIAL

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Secretary of State,
Washington.

DIVISION OF GREEK, TURKISH,
AND IRANIAN AFFAIRS

File JUL 26 1949
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

A-265, July 11, 1949.

Communist Activities - Turkey, June 1949

Communist Propaganda

After a month's period of inactivity (see Embassy airmgram No. A-224 of June 11, 1949) the Communist radio, in broadcasts beamed to Turkey, in early June began harping again on the familiar Communist themes of American "imperialism", Turkish capitulations, Kurdish separatism, economic misery caused by American "control in Turkey", and Government "terrorization of the masses of the people opposing American slavery".

Arrests on Charges of Communist Activity

The trial in secret of Remzi Ofluoglu, an employee of the Ministry of Customs and Monopolies, on a charge of spreading Communist propaganda was begun on June 20 in the Criminal Court at Balikesir.

Halil Akalin, a tailor of Izmir, was sentenced in June to six months in prison for Communist activity.

The following report, under an Istanbul dateline, appeared in the Ankara ULUS of June 30:

"Yusuf Balkanli and Mehmet Ceylaner, students at the University of Technology, and Mehmet Irmak, a tinker, were caught on the border trying to escape into Bulgaria, and were brought here today. All three came here from Bulgaria as refugees three years ago. They have been prosecuted on charges of Communist activities several times, and will now be tried for attempting to leave the country without pass-
ports. This copy must be returned to DC/R central files with notation of action taken.

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JUL 29 1949

Airgram No. A-265
Embassy, Ankara
July 11, 1949

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

The press reported the arrest on June 13 in Gaziantep of seven persons allegedly caught in the act of preparing to spread Communist propaganda. According to the Ankara Ulus of June 20:

"Surprised by the police, the men attempted to destroy some of the documents lying around, but were prevented from doing so. The most important papers found were those on how to spread Communist propaganda in the town. There were also some Russian books and typewritten papers. The ringleader of the gang is Ziya Aykut, chief physician of the Trachoma Hospital at Nizip, district of Anap. Others are Hasan, baker; Baki, grocer; and Galip and Necip Diker, two tailors who were sentenced to two years' imprisonment by the Sivas Criminal Court two or three years ago for spreading propaganda, and had just completed their sentence."

Communism in Izmir

A Security Police officer has informed the American Consulate in Izmir that there are approximately 850 Communists and persons strongly suspected of being Communist sympathizers in that city. This number includes 70 women. They are all being closely watched.

Disappearance of the Yugoslav Commercial Counselor in Istanbul

The Yugoslav Commercial Counselor, Mihailo Yudich, disappeared from his home on June 12, with his wife. Reports agree that he had been recalled, but some of the newspapers claim that he was a Cominform agent and intended to go to the Soviet Union, while others allege that he has "chosen freedom". It seems more likely that he will attempt to pass himself off as a convert to Western democracy, since he applied to the American Consulate General in Istanbul for an American transit visa, which was refused (see despatch No. 196 of June 30, 1949, of the American Consulate General, Istanbul). Yudich was the successor in Istanbul to Yosip Kopinich, who was generally regarded as the principal Cominform representative in Turkey.

WADSWORTH

File No. 350.21
WPerkins/mfm
cc: Division of GTI Affairs

INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

AIRGRAM

4002

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ACTION: NEA

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CONFIDENTIAL

From: American Embassy
Ankara, Turkey
Date: September 12, 1949

Ailed: Sept. 14, 1949

Rec'd: Sept. 23, 1949 2:08 p.m.

DIVISION OF GREEK, TURKISH,
AND IRANIAN AFFAIRS

noted
SEP 26 1949
1/26
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

A-363, September 12, 1949

Communist Activities - Turkey, August 1949

During the month of August Soviet broadcasts in Turkish emphasized the familiar Communist propaganda theme of American imperialist aggression. The US was accused of attempting to assert complete mastery over Turkey, including the acquisition of military bases, by pretending that there was a Soviet threat to Turkish sovereignty. ECA was painted as a scheme to enrich American capitalists at the expense of all Marshall-Plan countries, whose conditions are steadily worsening. According to one report, unemployment and misery are rife in Turkey and factories are closing, because American goods have been dumped on the market. As for the Turkish Army, it is now under the command of "General C. Riaz's staff".

Several broadcasts have underlined growing rivalry between British and American imperialism in the Middle East, where oil companies are vying with each other to drain wealth out of the oil-producing countries. The Syrian coup was also attributed to Anglo-American divergence: Naim, "the puppet of American imperialism" was shot upon orders given by Minnawi, "who is the agent of English imperialism."

Communist Publications in Turkish Schools

ZAFER of August 23 reported that an increasing number of Communist newspapers and magazines have been recently introduced into schools. "These publications are systematically sent to the schools by mail or by other means, and the Ministry of Education has issued a circular forbidding the reading of these publications and their entry into the

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schools

867.008/9-1249

SEP 26 1949

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CONFIDENTIAL

A-363, AmEmbassy
Ankara, Sept 18, 1949

- 2 -

schools. The publications in question are mostly newspapers from Soviet-occupied Balkan countries."

Three Bulgarian Refugees Reach Turkey

Three Bulgarian university students, according to a story in the August 18 issue of Alim, escaped from Burgas harbor in a row-boat and managed to get to Istanbul, where they took refuge with Turkish border officials.

Bulgarian Refugees Leave for Italy

On September 4 a group of 220 Bulgarian refugees, who had been in Turkey for varying lengths of time, left by Turkish ship for Italy under arrangements made by the I.R.C.

Mysterious "Attack" on Bulgarian Consulate in Istanbul

During the first week of September the press carried confused and conflicting accounts of an alleged attack on the Bulgarian Consulate in Istanbul during the night of September 3. According to early stories, the Bulgarian Consulate protested to both the Istanbul municipal authorities and the police that two Bulgarian refugees, one of whom was identified as Stoyan KAZALAROV, had attempted to kidnap two other Bulgarians who had taken sanctuary in the Consulate and asked to be sent back to Bulgaria.

Police authorities, after investigation, announced that the two accused had produced convincing alibis for the time of the presumed attack, and that there was therefore no reason to prevent their leaving for Italy with the group of Bulgarian refugees departing on September 4. Correspondents speculate that, if there was any attempt to enter the Bulgarian Consulate, it was probably for the purpose of releasing two anti-regime refugees who are being held against their will. HARRIYER of September 6 claims to know that Stoyan KANCHEV and Nikolai GETOV, whose names were listed on the joint passport issued to the Bulgarian refugees going to Italy, are prisoners in the Bulgarian Consulate.

An Anatolian Agency release of September 9 denied earlier press reports that the Bulgarian Government had addressed an official note of protest to Ankara on this subject. However, it has been confirmed by our Legation

In Sofia

U, Ambassador
Ankara, Sept 12, 1949

CONFIDENTIAL

- 3 -

in Sofia (see Sofia's telegram No. 766 to Department, September 10) that a note dated September 7 was presented by the Bulgarian Foreign Office to the Turkish Minister in Sofia protesting against Turkish complacency over the attack on the Consulate, characterizing it as an aggressive act which "passes the limit of a simple diplomatic incident," and expressing hope that Turkey would punish the offenders and prevent the repetition of similar incidents in the future.

Movements of Soviet and Satellite Diplomats

According to a notification of August 27 from the Rumanian Legation, Avram LUPAN, Counselor, has reported to Ankara, accompanied by his wife, who, the note says, will be "Secretary of Legation".

Notification has also been received from the Soviet Embassy of the arrival of a new "attache", Igor MAKOLSKI, accompanied by his wife.

WADSWORTH

File: 350.21
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CC: GTI

INCOMING AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

MESSAGE CENTER

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1949 OCT 21 AM 29 18

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From: American Embassy
Ankara, Turkey

Dated: October 20, 1949

Mailed: Oct. 18, 1949

Rec'd: Oct 20, 1949

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The Secretary of State

Washington,

A-397, October 11, 1949.

Communist Activities--Turkey, September 1949.

Soviet Radio Propaganda. During the month, the principal propaganda themes broadcast over Soviet radio whose programs were beamed toward Turkey:

1) Americans are living in the lap of luxury in Turkey enjoying themselves at the expense of indigenous Turks.

2) The Greek Patriarch Athenagoras has been transferred from the United States to Turkey to betray the Turkish people.

3) The Grand National Assembly cannot form a cabinet today without the approval of American specialists or advisers in Turkey.

4) America's policy in Japan is threatening peace and security in the Far East. American militarists are converting Japan into a military base for new aggressive operations against the Soviet Union.

5) Turkey will suffer from Anglo-American rivalry. American and English warmongers have agreed on the use of Turkey as a battlefield against the Soviet Union.

6) Mr. Yalcin is the representative of the RFP on the newspaper Ulus, whose primary objectives are to trumpet reaction and promote warmongering.

7) Only the Soviet Union is struggling for peace at the UN meetings.

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OCT 31 1949

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Atom Bomb. Initial reaction to the announcement of the Soviet atom bomb explosion has been reported separately by the Embassy. Opinion is prevalent that Turkey has not been frightened by the new developments, but will continue to place its faith in American progress in atom bomb perfection and stock-piling. While admitting that new factors have been introduced in global strategy as a result of Soviet possession of the atom bomb, Turks are generally in agreement that nothing will shake the Turkish will to resist any attack made upon it by the Soviet Union.

Movements of Soviet and Satellite Diplomats. It is reported that the Counselor of the Rumanian Embassy, Dr. Ionel CRISAN, and the Rumanian Consul in Istanbul have been recalled to Bucharest.

Aksam of September 8 reports that the Bulgarian Consul in Istanbul has been recalled by his government.

Turkish Communists. On September 26, the Turkish Security Police took into custody two alleged Turkish Communists, Mehmet DAKATOGLU and Haleb GOZTOR, who made an attempt to abscond to Bulgaria near Kırklareli.

Eight students of the Veterinary School of Ankara University, who were accused of spreading Communist propaganda (see Embassy's A-382, September 22), were acquitted when the Court of First Instance found the charges to be unfounded.

A sensational story of alleged escape of three Turks into Bulgaria near the frontier town of Edirne was given wide publicity in the press early in the month. Rumors of abduction were added to confound the more probable theory that the men were members of a leftist group, and had long contemplated their move. Newspapers alleged that one of the men was a Government teacher and that another was functionary; actually the two men had been employed by the Government, but had been without work for some time. In reply to an insinuation on the part of the Prime Minister that the men were unreliable members of the Turkish press, the newspapers hotly denied any responsibility for harboring subversive elements.

At Izmir, one Petro KARLITCH, son of the Yugoslav consular kavas at Istanbul, was taken into custody for photographing in restricted military areas.

Russian Pilot Seeks Refuge in Turkey. A Russian air officer, Bort Valentin KONDRATIEVICH, landed at Sinop on September 13 in a two-seater trainer which he had flown allegedly from the Crimea. The lieutenant is now undergoing cross-examination at the hands of the Turkish military authorities.

CONFIDENTIAL

Armenian Refugee Returns to Turkey. It was reported in the press that an Armenian refugee, who had gone to Soviet Armenia on one of the Soviet "repatriation" ships last year out of Istanbul, had been able to evade the Russian frontier troops and had walked his way to Idzma. The Turkish authorities, when questioned concerning the Armenian, declined to comment nor did they in any way

Czech Diplomat Asks Asylum. It was reported that Jiri Stedl, Secretary of the Czech Legation, has requested the Turkish authorities for asylum.

Communist Activities in Izmir. A group of fifteen persons, apparently students in a lycee at Izmir, demonstrated in front of the Communism or the former Izmir building at the Izmir Lycee on September 5, shouting, according to certain reports, "Long live Communism" and then disappeared. The police and educational authorities deny this report maintain that these young men spoke in favor of Socialism and social assistance.

The Director General of National Security arrived in Izmir from Ankara on September 12 to supervise the work of the Izmir office of this organization particularly with respect to locating the activities of communists in this district. He has also toured the coast facing the Greek islands.

Tugrul DEMIRHAN, who is reported to have crossed the Turkish border recently with two other men at Edirne to Bulgaria for the purpose of conducting Communistic agitation, and to represent Turkey at the meeting of the Union of Communist Youth in Budapest, is a well known journalist in the Izmir district. Up to three years ago, he contributed regularly to various Izmir newspapers.

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cc: GTI

FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

SECURITY : RESTRICTED

PRIORITY: AIR POUCH

TO : Department of State

FROM : ANKARA 458 December 12, 1949 1 Enclosure

REF : Embassy despatch No. 193, June 17, 1949, page 2.

SUBJECT : Amendment of Articles of the Turkish Penal Code Punishing Communist and Reactionary (Religious) Activities.

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JUSTICE

There is transmitted herewith a translation of the amended texts of Articles 141, 142 and 163 of the Turkish Penal Code, which constitute a part of Law No. 5435 of June 11, 1949.

As was reported in the despatch referred to above, these articles in their new form broaden the definitions of, and increase the penalties for, Communist activity on the one hand and reactionary (religious) activities on the other.

The bill which proposed these modifications of the Penal Code was prepared on the initiative of the Parliamentary Group of the Republican People's Party, and was accompanied on its introduction in the Assembly by a report which said that

"Communist and reactionary (religious) propaganda and movements have taken on a noteworthy character of late The clandestine as well as overt agitations of those desirous of conforming the existing social order to Communist principles and religious doctrines have begun to constitute a threat to the welfare, security, and progress of the country and of the people, so that the vigorous prosecution and suppression of such disruptive activities aimed at undermining the social body from within, have become imperative.

"The fact is, however, that the pertinent provisions of the Penal Code now in force either do not cover some of these harmful actions and activities, or do not impose penalties which are sufficiently deterrent and commensurate with the gravity of these crimes."

The changes in Articles 141 and 142 which deal with communist and anarchist agitations, were passed without difficulty. As a matter of fact, the modifications made in these two articles did not materially alter their previous wording (adopted in 1936 and subsequently amended three times); the changes introduced simply increase the penalties specified.

Article 141 in its present form provides for imprisonment from 3 to 10 years (formerly 2 to 5 years) for those found guilty of forming,

WPerkins/mfm

December 8, 1949

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organizing and directing associations whose purpose is to establish the domination of one social class over others, or to eliminate a social class, or to overthrow the existing basic economic and social orders.

The same penalty applies to the founders, organizers and leaders of "subversive associations formed for the purpose of overthrowing any of the basic political or judicial orders of the community".

The employment or contemplated use of violence or threat for the attainment of the above objectives entails a prison sentence not under five years (as before).

The founders, organizers and leaders of associations, the objectives of which are "opposed to the principle of Republicanism or which aim at weakening or destroying nationalist sentiments" are punished with prison terms ranging from 1 to 3 years (as previously).

Under the same article, those who join the above associations or who encourage such adherence, are liable to imprisonment from 6 months up to 7 years (formerly 6 months to 3 years).

Article 142 deals with those who engage in propaganda for the attainment of the objectives enumerated in the preceding article. The prison terms applying to such offenses now range from 6 months to 5 years as against 6 months to 2 years in the previous version. A newly appended paragraph stipulates that these penalties are to be increased by 1/3-1/2 if the propaganda in question is effected through publicity media.

The amendments of Articles 141 and 142 were passed with very little real debate of the principles involved, since practically all the members who spoke on the subject gave them full support. There was, however, considerable discussion of what was regarded as the ambiguous wording of the articles, and a number of speakers, both Government and opposition, predicted great future difficulties in defining such vague terms as "the fundamental economic or social systems established in the country" or "the fundamental political or judicial systems"--not to speak of "propaganda aimed at suppressing or weakening national sentiment".

Reliance will therefore have to be placed, in interpreting the new language of the law, on the report submitted by the Government in justification of the bill, on the report of the Judicial Committee of the Grand National Assembly, and on the debates on the bill in the Assembly itself.

In the light of these sources of definition, "abolishing the fundamental economic system" appears to mean the overthrow of the existing economic system based on private property. The overthrow of the "fundamental social system" seems to signify the repudiation of the institution of the family. The elimination of the "fundamental political or judicial system established in the country" implies the establishment of a Communist or an anarchist regime.

The changes made in Article 163, for the purpose of checking any trend toward religious reaction, were much more substantial; in fact, the article was completely rewritten.

In its previous form this article imposed a penalty of temporary imprisonment (duration not indicated) on those who by employing the subject of religion as a tool "incite the people to act in a manner likely to impair the security of the State or form associations to that effect".

In its new amplified version, Article 163 follows more or less the pattern of articles 141 and 142 combined. It calls for a prison term ranging from 2 years up to 7 years for those who found, organize and direct associations for the purpose of "even partially adapting, in a manner contrary to secularism, the basic social, economic, political or judicial systems of the State to religious principles and beliefs".

Participants in such associations are to receive a prison sentence which shall not be less than six months.

Moreover, a prison term of from one to five years is to be imposed on those who, by employing the issue of religion as a tool, "in any manner whatever engage in propaganda for the purpose of even partially adapting, contrary to secularism, the basic social, economic, political, or judicial systems of the State to religious principles and beliefs, or for the purpose of securing political advantage or establishing personal influence."

Finally, as in the case of article 142, it is stipulated that the penalty is to be increased by 1/3 to 1/2 if the propaganda in question is effected through publicity media.

The proposal to amend article 163 met considerable resistance in the Grand National Assembly, not only from the opposition and from the independents, but also from several members of the majority party. In essence, the opponents argued that there had been no new development in the country warranting a change in the article, and that the law in its new form could well be construed as an infringement of constitutional guarantees of freedom of thought and conscience; and that it could easily be used by the Government to exert political pressure on the opposition.

In actual fact, however, the proponents of the amended article 163 could find strong support for their proposal in the events of the preceding months.

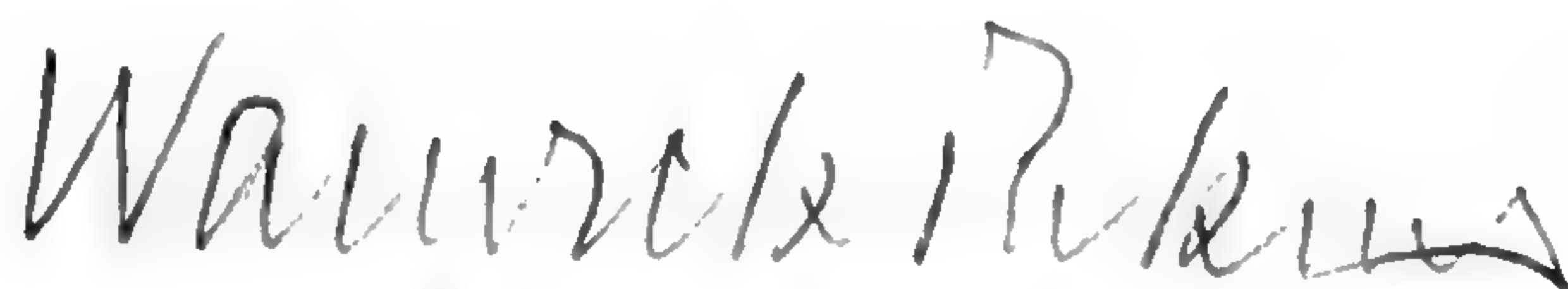
Despite the unquestioned attachment of the leader of the Democratic Party, Celal Bayar, to the principle of secularism, speakers for the Party had for some time been making indirect appeals to religious sentiments; and the People's Party, unwilling to be left completely behind, had felt itself obliged to make a number of concessions with respect to religious activities and religious education.

When the Nation's Party came along it went even further than the People's Party and the Democrats. It went so far--a thing unprecedented since the establishment of the Republic--as to have its Executive Board attend the religious funeral services of a deceased leader (Kenan Oner, who died March 8, 1949), and to distribute political tracts at the door of the mosque.

Shortly thereafter, Prime Minister Günaltay and Celal Bayar announced that they had come to an agreement for the mutual defense of the fundamental principles of Kemalism against extremist tendencies of the far right and the far left, and the new article 163 of the Penal Code may in a sense be regarded as part of the implementation of this understanding.

Supporters of the new law emphasized a passage in the report of the Judicial Committee on the bill, to the effect that while Turkey was a secular Republic and was consequently obliged to struggle against those who wished to base its social system on religious principles, there was no intention of prohibiting religious propaganda unless it was undertaken with objects in view which were not religious; that is, to serve political aims.

The press has not as yet reported any prosecutions of note under the new article 163.



Warwick Perkins
Counselor of Embassy

Enclosure: 

Translation of "Amended Articles
of the Turkish Penal Code.



December 8, 1949

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Enclosure /1 to Despatch No. 458 dated December 12, 1949, from the American Embassy, Ankara, Turkey, on the subject: Amendment of Articles of the Turkish Penal Code Punishing Communist and Reactionary (Religious) Activities.

TRANSLATION
(From French - by Embassy)

AMENDED ARTICLES OF THE TURKISH PENAL CODE
(Law No. 5435 of June 11, 1949, published
in Official Gazette No. 7234
of June 16, 1949)

Article 141. One who sets up, forms, organizes or conducts and directs an association with the object of establishing the domination of one of the social classes in the country over the others, or of eliminating a social class or abolishing the fundamental economic or social system established in the country, is liable to a penalty of three to ten years heavy imprisonment.

One who sets up, forms, organizes or conducts and directs subversive associations aimed at abolishing any one of the fundamental political or judicial regimes of the community, is liable to the penalty mentioned in paragraph 1.

If, as a means of reaching the goals mentioned in the above paragraphs, the associations have accepted the use of force, violence or threat in any way whatever, or if, even though this point has not been specified, force and violence or threat have been found necessary for success, the heavy imprisonment penalty to which one who sets up, forms, organizes or conducts and directs the association is liable shall not be less than five years.

One who constitutes, forms, organizes or conducts and directs associations whose aims are contrary to republicanism or tend to suppress or weaken national sentiments, is liable to heavy imprisonment of one to three years.

Those who enter the associations specified in paragraphs 1 and 2 are liable to heavy imprisonment of one to seven years; those who enter the associations mentioned in paragraph 3, to heavy imprisonment of two to seven years, and those who enter the associations specified in paragraph 4 to imprisonment of six months to one year.

Those who show (others) the way to enter the associations specified in the above paragraphs are punished in the same manner.

The sentences to be pronounced on those who, even under a false name or in a simulated form, set up, form, organize or conduct and direct once again the associations mentioned above whose dissolution has been ordered, are increased by at least a third.

Article 142. One who, in any way whatever, indulges in propaganda for the establishment of the domination of one of the social classes in the country over the others, the suppression of a social class or the overthrow of the fundamental economic or social systems established in the country or the undermining of the fundamental political or judicial systems, shall be liable to one to five years heavy imprisonment.

If such propaganda implies the use of force and violence or of threat in order to attain the objects mentioned in the above paragraph, the sentence to be pronounced by virtue of paragraph 1 shall not be less than two years heavy imprisonment.

One who praises the actions mentioned in the above paragraphs or expresses appreciation of them or makes suggestions to others either orally or by any act or conduct whatever, with respect to the aims referred to in the above paragraphs, is liable to a penalty of one to five years heavy imprisonment.

One who, in any manner whatever, indulges in propaganda against republicanism or in propaganda aimed at suppressing or weakening national sentiment, is liable to a penalty of six months to two years imprisonment.

In case the acts mentioned in the above paragraphs are committed through publicity media, the penalty to be inflicted is increased by one-third to one-half.

Article 163. One who, in opposition to secularism, sets up, forms, organizes or conducts and directs an association with the purpose of adapting, even only partially, the fundamental social, economic, political or judicial systems of the State to religious principles and beliefs, is liable to a heavy penalty of two to seven years imprisonment.

Those who enter such associations or show others the way to enter them are liable to imprisonment of not less than six months.

The sentences to be pronounced on those who, even under a false name or a simulated form, constitute, form, organize or conduct and direct once again associations mentioned above whose dissolution has been ordered, are increased by at least a third.

One who, using as an instrument religion, religious feelings or things recognized by religion as sacred, indulges in propaganda in any manner whatever or makes suggestions with a view to adapting--even in part--the fundamental social, economic, political or judicial systems of the State to religious principles and beliefs in

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Enclosure /1 to Despatch No. 458
dated December 12, 1949, from the
American Embassy, Ankara, Turkey

opposition to secularism, or with the purpose of securing for himself political advantage or personal influence, is liable to heavy imprisonment of one to five years.

In the event that the act mentioned in the above paragraph is committed through publicity media, the penalty to be inflicted is increased by one-third to one-half.

In the event that little harm is anticipated in consideration of the place, the means or the subject of a broadcast, a penalty of six months to ^{two} years imprisonment is imposed on the author.

DC/R

FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

SECURITY : CONFIDENTIAL

PRIORITY: AIR POUCH

TO : Department of State

867.008/12-1649

FROM : ANKARA 479 December 16, 1949

REF :

SUBJECT : COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES: TURKEY, NOVEMBER 1949

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Soviet Radio Propaganda. During the month, the following were the principal propaganda themes broadcast over Soviet radio stations whose programs were beamed toward Turkey:

- 1) German and Turkish fascists and American imperialists are now working hand in hand to promote a war against the Soviet Union. VON PAPAN's letter to CUMHURIYET ("that dirty rag" sic) is an anti-Soviet provocation. Von Papen is now a tool of American imperialists. He will shortly return to Turkey to work as an American agent.
- 2) Turkey has now become the principal springboard of American imperialists for attack against the Soviet Union.
- 3) Turkey is the center of American espionage against the Soviet Union.
- 4) America's policy in Central Europe is to make the West German Republic an "indispensable supply of cannon fodder".
- 5) Turkish peasants are living in misery, and are "closing their ranks in the struggle for peace".
- 6) "The Turkish workers can see, and know very well, that the forces of peace and socialism and democracy are invincible, and that the unshaken bastion and standard bearer of these forces is the Soviet Union".
- 7) The Marshall Plan is now firmly established in Ankara and "is working like a suction pump; it has become an agency realizing impressive profits for the American imperialists".
- 8) Turkish-American collaboration means simply increased budget allocations for the Turkish Army, at the expense of the Turkish people. The Turkish soldier gets none of the benefits from the increased expenditures, which go mostly to line the pockets of army contractors or into the safes of the "American kings of death".
- 9) Turks should beware of propaganda in favor of Tito and his fascist clique. "Tito and his Turkish friends have much in common; both are nurturing hatred against their own peoples, the Peoples' Democracies, and the USSR".

Distribution of Communist Literature. The Turkish Security Police state that reports of recent widespread distribution of Communist literature in

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Turkey have been greatly exaggerated. Some pamphlets and brochures printed in French in Paris, Beirut, Budapest and Lausanne have been received in Turkey and have been sent through regular postal channels. Energetic measures have been taken by the police to prevent their further dissemination. Newspapers highlighted this development for several days during November.

Most of the recent literature has appealed to the Turkish youth, and particularly university students, to join the World Democratic Youth Federation. Arslan HUMBARACI, who formerly was the correspondent of the New York Times in Turkey, and who is well known to the Embassy, was one of the principal speakers in the recent Congress of the World Democratic Youth Federation; his speech has been distributed with the recent Communist literature sent to Turkey.

Dentist Leaves for East Germany. ULUS reported on November 2 that Professor KANTAROVICH, well-known specialist in dental surgery, has resigned from the faculty of Istanbul University to work in East Germany.

Turkestan Turks Refuse to Return to Sinkiang. ULUS reported on November 3 that among the 434 pilgrims who arrived in Izmir from the recent Haj of Chinese nationals to Mecca, two men, Abdul HAMIT and Ahmet Resat HAN, declared that they preferred to remain in Izmir. They stated that, following the Communist takeover in Sinkiang, life had become very difficult for Turks in western China, and that large numbers of Chinese Turks would like to come to Turkey for permanent residence.

Meeting of Soviet and Satellite Diplomats. During the month, several newspapers carried reports that Soviet and satellite diplomats were scheduled to meet in conferences in Istanbul sometime in the near future.

Incident on Bulgarian Frontier. YENI SABAH reported on November 6 that two Bulgarian soldiers had crossed the border at Kirklareli, and that one of them had been killed by the Mukhtar of the village of Korudere. It was announced by the press that a gold watch had been presented to the Mukhtar as a reward by the Minister of Interior.

Arrest of Alleged Communist. One Ahmed DURAK, accused of propaganda among Ankara workers, was arrested in Ankara on November 12. ULUS reports that Durak is of Caucasian origin, and had been trained for work in Turkey.

Bulgarian Turks Seek Refuge in Turkey. SON POSTA stated on November 16 that one of its reporters at Edirne had interviewed a number of Bulgarian Turks who had just arrived in Turkey as refugees. Most of the refugees came from Plovdiv and Tirpan. All complained of brutal treatment at the hands of the Bulgarian police.

Refugees stated that Turkish organizations such as the Turan, Altay, and Moslem Brotherhood, had all been abolished and members exiled to the Davagov and Pernik mines.

Turkish schools in Plovdiv, Kizanlik, Plevna, Shumnu and Akkdy were now obliged to teach their pupils in the Bulgarian language. A Turkish teachers' school has been set up at Zagra under the headmastership of a Turkish Communist named Ibrahim KURBANOG̈LU, who was educated in Turkey.

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Moslem Refugees from Soviet Union. VATAN on November 16 reported that Moslem and Turkish elements who have managed to escape from the Soviet Union toward Europe, are finding a haven in West Germany where a group called the "New Alliance" is charged with receiving and settling the new arrivals.

Ankara Radio Reply to Moscow Radio. On November 23, Ankara Radio broadcast to Radio Moscow a reply to recent tendentious broadcasts from the Soviet Union. Ankara Radio emphasized that the Turkish nation, in respect of national defense and the Army, was prepared for any sacrifice. In refutation of Moscow Radio's assertion that heavy expenditures in the Turkish budget were largely on behalf of American interests, Ankara Radio stated flatly that Turkey's heavy tax burden was due solely to the threat of Soviet attack.

If the Soviet Union really wanted peace, said Radio Ankara, all that she would have to do would be to renew the former pact of friendship, and be a good neighbor. Launching a war of nerves and demanding bases were not conducive to good neighborliness, said Ankara Radio. As long as there is danger that Turkey might become a satellite, said the broadcast, it would have to expend great sums for armament and be prepared.

Journalist Asks U. S. to Drop Bomb on USSR. Hüseyn Cahit YALÇIN of ULUS provided the journalistic sensation of the month by requesting that the United States drop a bomb in Siberia as a warning to the Soviet leaders of the dangers facing their country in the event of a new world war.

Movement of Soviet and Satellite Diplomats. The Rumanian Ambassador to Turkey, Dimitru OLTEANU, has returned to Turkey from a holiday in Rumania.

Jenő BALOGH, Secretary-Archivist at the Hungarian Legation, has arrived in Ankara, accompanied by his wife.

Karel FUERST, Assistant Commercial Attaché of the Czech Legation, has arrived in Ankara, accompanied by his wife.

Colonel Emil HORYNA, Military and Air Attaché of the Czech Legation, has arrived in Ankara.

Yakov LAZAREV, newly-appointed Soviet Vice Consul at Istanbul, has arrived in Istanbul, accompanied by his wife.

Plovdiv Bomb Incident. On November 21, the Bulgarian Press Secretary announced that the persons responsible for placing bombs in the Turkish Consulate at Plovdiv last September, have been apprehended and will shortly be tried. The release gave no names and no indication of the identity of the accused.

cc: Embassies: Belgrade, Moscow.
Legations: Bucharest, Budapest, Sofia.

Warwick Perkins
Counselor of Embassy

BFB

return 4/8T

DC/R

OCT 11 1947

In reply refer to
U/OT

My dear Mr. Hersch:

In reply to your letter of October 6, no food products are being supplied to Turkey under the Turkish Aid Program. Greece is receiving food products purchased by the Department of Agriculture, and other foods may be shipped within the limitations of the Greek import program through private trade channels.

We suggest that you correspond with a firm in Greece on this subject, as the initiative in obtaining import licenses and the necessary foreign exchange must be taken in Athens by Greek importers.

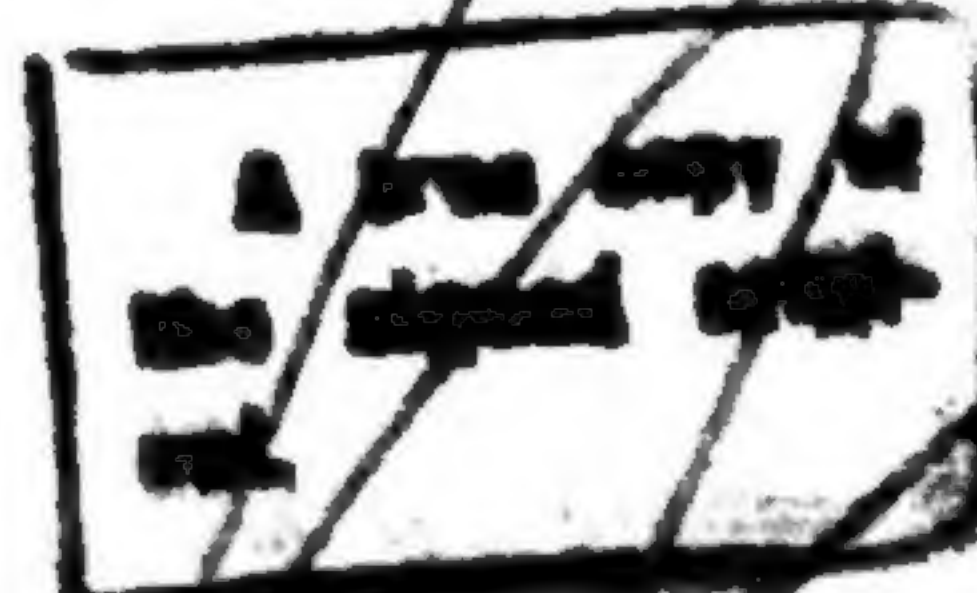
Sincerely yours,

Walter Wilds
Acting Coordinator for Aid
to Greece and Turkey

Mr. D. Hersch,
Schoenfeld & Sons,
140 Franklin Street,
New York 13, New York.

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Schoenfeld & Sons



140 FRANKLIN STREET
NEW YORK 13, N. Y.

October 6, 1947

Mr. Arthur Z. Gardiner
Office of Co-Ordinator
Greek Aid Program
Department of State
Washington 25, D. C.

ALL STATEMENTS OR AGREEMENTS CONTAINED IN THIS LETTER ARE CONTINGENT ON STRIKES, ACCIDENTS, FIRES OR ANY OTHER CAUSES BEYOND OUR CONTROL AND ALL CONTRACTS ARE SUBJECT TO APPROVAL BY THE SIGNATURE OF A DULY AUTHORIZED EXECUTIVE OFFICER OF THIS COMPANY. CLERICAL ERRORS SUBJECT TO CORRECTION.

Dear Sir:

We have been referred to you by Mr. Nolan of the Department of Commerce, New York office.

In this connection, we would thank you to advise us the procedure we must follow in submitting bids on spices and other food products with regard to the Greek and Turkish Aid Program.

Thank you for your reply at your earliest convenience.

Very truly yours,

SCHOENFELD & SONS

Per *Hersel*

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U - MR. MCGHEE COORDINATOR OF AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY 1947 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE CONTINUATION OF
867.00B FOR THE 1950-54 PERIOD
CAN BE FOUND UNDER
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Central File: Decimal File 867.00B, Internal Affairs Of States, Political Affairs., Turkey, Bolshevism. Communism. Communistic Activities., Feb. 27, 1945 - December 16, 1949. February 27, 1945 - December 16, 1949. MS Turkey: Records of the U.S. Department of State, 1802-1949: Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1945-1949. National Archives (United States). Archives Unbound, link.gale.com/apps/doc/SC5111599093/GDSC?u=uagm&sid=GDSC&xid=53fd02bc&pg=3. Accessed 10 May 2021.